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The Forum

JULY, 1902.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

EVER since Congress assembled last December, the political leaders of both parties have kept constantly in view the Congressional campaign which is now approaching. Nearly every speech which has been delivered, almost every vote which has been recorded, has been influenced by political considerations. Although the election will not occur until next November, the groundwork of the campaign has been laid. The committees have been organized, headquarters have been secured, and other details have been arranged. It is too early, of course, to indulge in prediction. The recent reëlection of Republican Congressmen in Oregon by increased majorities, although not unexpected, has naturally stimulated the enthusiasm and buoyed the hope of the rank and file of that party, and indicates, unquestionably, that the policy of the Administration in regard to the Philippines meets with popular favor on the Pacific Coast. This could hardly be otherwise. The prospect of increasing commerce with the Orient through the permanent retention of the Philippines is too alluring to the enterprising spirit of the West to be viewed with indifference.

There are other advantageous factors in the West for the dominant party. President Roosevelt's action in instituting proceedings to determine the legality of the merger of great railroad corporations, while it may have given an unpleasant shock to Wall Street, has been of incalculable value politically to the Republican party in the West and Northwest. It has given the people of that section, who are, more or less, at the mercy of these corporations, an assurance that their interests are to

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be protected. The considerations which prompted the President's action are, it seems to me, very logical, if not unanswerable. If the merger was illegal, he argued, it should be so declared by the courts; if it was not in violation of the statutes, the exoneration of the railroads would be welcomed as a settlement of a disputed question, and by none more than by the corporations involved. The general belief that a Republican Administration would not, under any circumstances, be found antagonistic to the interests of great corporations may not rest upon an assured foundation; but of its existence there can be no doubt whatever. President Roosevelt, who is nothing if not courageous, has shown that, in his case, he is not the creature of corporations; and I greatly misjudge public sentiment if the exhibition does not add to his reputation and materially aid his party in the approaching contest.

In the Congressional campaigns during the last decade there has been some basis of calculation. It has been easy to segregate the doubtful districts from those where the majority, on one side or the other, was too large to admit of a successful inroad by the minority candidate. The labors of the party managers were then centred upon the few districts where the change of a comparatively small number of votes would affect the result. This year it will be impossible to work upon these lines. The situation has been complicated by the fact that, under the Apportionment Law enacted last year, a new alignment of Congressional districts has been made necessary in a little less than one-half the States. The present House of Representatives consists of 357 members; the next House will contain 386. The number by States will be as follows:

Alabama	9	Minnesota	9
Arkansas	7	Mississippi	8
California	8	Missouri	16
Colorado	3	Montana	1
Connecticut	5	Nebraska	6
Delaware	1	Nevada	1
Florida	3	New Hampshire	2
Georgia	11	New Jersey	10
Idaho	1	New York	37
Illinois	25	North Carolina	10
Indiana	13	North Dakota	2
Iowa	11	Ohio	21
Kansas	8	Oregon	2
Kentucky	11	Pennsylvania	32
Louisiana	7	Rhode Island	2
Maine	4	South Carolina	7
Maryland	6	South Dakota	2
Massachusetts	14	Tennessee	10
Michigan	12	Texas	16

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Utah	1	Wisconsin	11
Vermont	2	Wyoming	1
Virginia	10		
Washington	3	Total	386
West Virginia	5		

The increase of twenty-nine members of the House is divided among twenty States, as follows:

One each in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Washington, and West Virginia.

Two each in Minnesota, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Three each in Illinois, New York, and Texas.

A majority of these additional Congressmen are to be chosen, it will seen, in States which are assuredly Republican. This gives an advantage to that party in the event of a close contest.

Opinion in Washington is divided as to the effect which the result of the Congressional elections will have upon the Presidential contest two years hence. There are Democrats who doubt the political advantage of the election of a Democratic House; there are Republicans who look forward with equanimity to a Republican defeat. The Democrats who are not anxious for Democratic victory argue that nothing can be accomplished when both the Senate and the President stand between the House and the enactment of reform legislation; while the Republicans who would not be downcast over defeat would welcome a condition of compulsory inaction relieving them from the danger of party friction and division over troublesome legislative problems.

On the whole, however, it may be set down as a fact that these indifferent partisans are in the minority. The managers on both sides will struggle as usual for success. If the Democrats win, it will be claimed that the political pendulum has begun to swing toward a Democratic President in 1904; while the Republicans will very properly regard the return of a Republican majority in the House as an indorsement of their policies. There is every indication of an earnest, even bitterly contested, campaign; and the announcement that the President, after consultation with his party leaders, will make several political speeches during the approaching fall may be taken as an indication that the Republicans propose to use their heaviest artillery against the opposition. The great advantage of victory to the Democrats would, of course, lie in the fact that they would be able to pass embarrassing resolutions of inquiry through the House, calling upon the heads of the executive departments for information which is now withheld. They would also adopt the old

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Tilden cry of "open the books," which was so effective in 1876; and it would not be surprising if some of the facts laid bare proved to be of considerable importance from a political point of view.

If campaign issues are formulated in Congress, then the Philippine question ought to be the paramount topic of the approaching struggle. Two measures relating to the Philippines have been before the present session of Congress. The first relates to the tariff to be imposed upon importations from the archipelago; and the second embraces a scheme of civil government for the islands. In the House, the debate upon the first-named bill, which is the only one that has been considered by that body at this writing, was, as usual, of little value. The rules of the House, as enforced by the majority, allow only the minimum of discussion of great questions. In the Senate, however, the Tariff Bill was debated for five weeks, while the Civil Government Bill occupied no less than seven weeks in its consideration. During this extended period the entire Philippine question was exhaustively treated; the fire of debate being daily fed by the investigation into the conduct of Philippine affairs, which is still in progress. Appreciating the political importance which the Philippine question would assume, the Republicans of the Senate placed upon the Philippine Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, a strong representation of their party, the list containing such well-known leaders as Allison of Iowa and Hale of Maine, and including Proctor of Vermont, Beveridge of Indiana, Burrows of Michigan, McComas of Maryland, and Dietrich of Nebraska, the last-named being the only senator lacking in long experience. The Democrats, for their part, named five of the most persistent and vigorous fighters in the Senate — Messrs. Rawlins of Utah, Culberson of Texas, Dubois of Idaho, Carmack of Tennessee, and Patterson of Colorado. These five senators bore the brunt of the debate for the minority.

During the progress of the investigation conducted by this committee many interesting facts concerning the situation in the Philippines were elicited, notably the administration of the "water cure" to Filipinos by American soldiers for the purpose of obtaining information. The Democrats at once attempted to make political capital out of these disclosures; their move in this direction being immediately met by the President and the Secretary of War, who cabled directions to General Chaffee to allow no further tortures of this character. About the same time, General Smith's order to make the province of Samar a "howling wilderness," to "kill and burn," and to regard all persons over ten years of age as combatants whose punishment should be death, was made pub-

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lic; and this, too, became a text for Democratic denunciation. Court-martials to determine the nature and extent of General Smith's policy of extermination, as well as his liability for disregarding the laws of war, were at once ordered by the Administration. The result of these court-martials has not yet been made known. In the mean time, the Democrats, in emphasizing the conditions in the Philippines, have been compelled to utter severe strictures upon the army, and for this they have been denounced with equal severity by the Republicans. Realizing that criticism of the army in the field is always unpopular, the Democrats have undertaken to make clear that their position is one of hostility not to the American soldiers, but to the policy which has placed the army in its present position. In Washington, at close range, it is easy enough to distinguish this difference; but it is doubtful whether the average reader of the condensed debates as printed in the newspapers has been able to appreciate the fine distinction. In other words, the Democrats have been placed in the position, much against their will and utterly at variance with their first intention, of deliberately seeking to traduce and embarrass the American army; and this fact will, in all probability, operate to Democratic disadvantage.

It is also a matter of considerable doubt whether the popular interest in the Philippine question is in proportion to the amount of time and care spent in debating it in the Senate. The American Indian, for instance, has always had a few sympathizing friends; but the people, as a whole, looked with indifference, if not callousness, upon the relegation of the race to meagre reservations, while the dominant white man took possession of broad acres, converting the hunting grounds into prosperous farms. Very much the same feeling, as I view it, exists in regard to the Filipinos. They are so far away; their side of the case is only presented through reports of army officers, which tell of savage cruelties, base deceptions, and utter unworthiness; and the sentiment is so strong in favor of our holding the Philippine Islands that it seems doubtful whether the efforts of the Democrats to arouse an opposite feeling will be successful. The time may come when the American people will pause and begin to question whether the game is worth pursuing. There will be a disposition to strike a balance on the national ledger. Already it is estimated, although the actual figures are carefully concealed, that the Philippines have cost us about $500,000,000; and if the natives refuse to be "pacified," an increasing and never-ending expense will be entailed. At the present time, however, with prosperity abundant in the United States, the cost is not being taken into considera-

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tion, and the hope of future recompense is too strong to be overcome. This being the case, coupled with the Anglo-Saxon disposition to acquire territory and then permanently retain it, one is disposed to believe that the Democrats will not be able to use the Philippine question as a successful campaign issue.

In discussing the subject on the stump, however, the two parties will have their lines clearly drawn. The Republicans are in favor of the permanent retention of the islands, establishing a civil administration which is to continue until the Philippine Islands "are capable, fit, and ready for the establishment of a permanent popular representative government." The Constitution of the United States is not to be extended over the islands, but the natives are to enjoy the privileges of the Bill of Rights, save the right to carry arms and enjoy trial by jury. The Democratic policy, as set forth in the substitute for the majority bill, proposes that the United States shall occupy the archipelago until the people thereof shall have established a government; that ninety days after the President of the United States has declared that all armed resistance to the United States has ceased, the Philippine Commission shall arrange for a popular convention which shall be the first step toward the election of a President for the islands; and that sixty days after the election of officers under the Filipino constitution, the United States shall relinquish all claim of sovereignty over the islands, withdrawing her military and naval forces, with the exception of such as may be maintained for naval, military, and coaling stations. In addition, it is provided that the President of the United States shall request Great Britain, Germany, France, and other powers to enter into a treaty agreement for the perpetual neutrality of the Philippines and their inviolability from foreign interference, and also for equal opportunities of trade to foreign countries.

The Senate disposed of the Philippine question on June 3, when, by a vote of 48 yeas to 30 nays, the measure reported by the Republican majority of the Philippine Committee was adopted. The vote was along party lines, with the exception that Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts and Mr. Mason of Illinois, Republicans, voted with the Democrats. Mr. Wellington of Maryland, who is a Republican only in name, voted with the Democrats, while Mr. McLaurin of South Carolina, who, despite the fact that he was elected as a Democrat, constantly votes with the Republicans, was arrayed with them upon the vote. All propositions submitted for consideration by the Democrats were voted down by a series of majorities ranging from 16 to 20, including the following offered by Mr. Teller:

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It is not the intention of the Government of the United States to harass or oppress the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, or to deprive them of their liberty, but, on the contrary, to assist them to establish a government of their own that shall secure to them all privileges, advantages, and blessings enjoyed by a free people, and ultimate independence under the protection of the United States against foreign powers and domestic violence. And to secure these ends as speedily as possible, the Government of the United States invites and urges the people of said islands to aid the United States authorities now exercising power in the islands to secure peace and order.

Messrs. Hale of Maine, Hoar of Massachusetts, and Jones of Nevada were the only Republicans to support this amendment. The bill was promptly sent to the House, where a substitute proposed by the House Committee on Insular Affairs is now being considered. This measure differs from the Senate bill in providing a Philippine legislature and in establishing the gold standard for the archipelago.

Two other important topics have been before Congress, namely, the Isthmian Canal Bill and the so-called Ship Subsidy Bill. Both of these measures may affect, in greater or less degree, the political situation.

The division in the Republican ranks regarding the necessity and advisability of enacting ship subsidy legislation, which was so marked in the last session as to prevent action, has not been entirely removed, even though the present bill has been shorn of many of the objectionable features of the former measure. When the subsidy bill passed the Senate on April 3 by a vote of 42 yeas to 31 nays, six Republicans, Senators Allison and Dolliver of Iowa, Proctor and Dillingham of Vermont, and Spooner and Quarles of Wisconsin, voted with the Democrats in the negative. This serious break in the Republican lines has had its effect in deterring the leaders of the House from attempting to enact the measure, and it is now pigeonholed in the Committee on Merchant Marine, where it will remain until after the approaching elections.

The Canal Bill, providing for the construction of an isthmian waterway along the Nicaragua route and limiting the cost to $180,000,000, passed the House by a vote of 309 to 2, and was reported to the Senate without amendment by a majority of the Committee on Interoceanic Canal of that body. At the present writing it is being debated in the Senate. The proposition of the Panama Canal Company to sell their rights, concessions, grants of lands, unfinished work, etc., to the United States for $40,000,000 has met with considerable favor, and has led to the introduction by Senator Spooner of a substitute for the Canal Bill. This substitute authorizes the President to accept the offer of the Panama

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Company unless he shall be unable to obtain satisfactory title, in which case he is to direct the Secretary of War to construct a canal across the isthmus via Lake Nicaragua. If this substitute shall be adopted, the whole question will be thrown into conference between the two Houses, and adjournment of the session may come before the different propositions are reconciled. Many of the Republican leaders, however, express an unwillingness to go before the country with a record of inaction upon the canal question.

There was an outcropping of politics during the debates upon the Chinese Exclusion Bill. In the House, which passed a very drastic measure, the vote was unanimous, so that party lines were obliterated. In the Senate, however, the bill reported from the Committee on Immigration, which was also quite drastic, was rejected, and the Platt substitute, which effected exclusion through milder methods, was adopted. Of the forty-eight affirmative votes for this substitute all were Republican except five, while the Democrats voted almost unanimously against it. The labor interests of the Pacific Coast demanded the enactment of the committee bill and protested against the Platt substitute, while the business interests appealed urgently for the adoption of the less vigorous, and, therefore, less objectionable law. When the substitute had thus been adopted, the bill as amended was passed by a vote of 76 to 1, the solitary negative being cast by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, who expressed his opposition to all exclusion legislation on the ground that it violated the principle of human rights.

The Republicans will, during the campaign, probably claim the credit of passing the Oleomargarine Bill, which protects the dairymen by placing a tax of ten cents a pound upon colored oleomargarine. This credit is due them, inasmuch as they control Congress, but the vote by which the measure became a law was not divided upon partisan lines.

It is a remarkable fact that the question which is really agitating the popular mind has received little or no consideration in Congress. Not one speech — certainly not one of commanding importance — has been made in Congress upon the trusts. If history is to repeat itself, the most potent political factor in this country is the price which is paid for the daily necessaries of life. Let us recall, for instance, the year when the McKinley Tariff Bill was passed. Long before that measure became a law, the manufacturers, certain of protection from foreign importation, increased the cost to the consumer of even the smallest articles

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of household use and wear; while, when the bill was finally signed by the President, the rise in prices was without precedent in time of peace. The result was a revolt on the part of the people. Something of the same condition now exists, when the beef trust has so increased the price of beef as to make the use of that food almost impossible among the poorer classes. Other articles of necessity are also costing more money than ever before. Not only are trusts of national extent fastening themselves upon the country, but in every city and town the various ice companies and other vendors of necessities are consolidating for the purpose of destroying all competition and leaving the consumer with the alternative of paying an arbitrary exorbitant price or of doing without the desired article. It has so happened that these trusts have reached their greatest power under a Republican Administration, which, until now, has been inactive in enforcing the laws enacted to prevent combinations in restraint of trade. The people, either rightly or wrongly, regard the Republican party as being largely responsible for the existence of these extortionate combinations. Antagonism to trusts, on the other hand, is naturally the position of the Democratic party.

In this case, as in the proceedings against the merger, President Roosevelt has boldly grasped the nettle. His direction to the Attorney General to invoke the law against the beef trust is one of the wisest acts, politically speaking, of his Administration. While the Republican majority in Congress has been inactive, the President has taken the one step which may prove the salvation of his party when the trust question becomes an issue on every stump next fall. Through his action the Republican orators will be enabled to assert that the Administration is honestly endeavoring to break down the trusts. In fact, the injunction recently obtained in Chicago against the beef trust is an earnest of the sincerity and ability with which the Government's legal representatives are making their fight. There are many who minimize President Roosevelt's wisdom as a politician; but certainly he is the only one in his party who has had the forethought to discount, by affirmative action, one of the most vigorous assaults that will be made upon his party. But for his course it would have been impossible for the Ohio Republicans, in their recent State Convention, to declare that the Sherman Anti-trust Law "is now being vigorously applied by a Republican Administration in the prosecution of unlawful combinations."

It is worth while, in this connection, to reproduce the opening sentence of the trust plank of the Ohio Convention. It reads as follows:

> We recognize the necessity of coöperation in order to meet new conditions in the

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industrial world, and to compete successfully for the world's markets; but all combinations that stifle competition, control prices, limit production, or unduly increase profits or values, and especially when they raise the prices of the necessities of life, are opposed to public policy and should be repressed with a strong hand.

This may be regarded as stating very explicitly the Republican position; and its reproduction, or paraphrase, may be expected in the remaining Republican State conventions yet to be held. The Democratic platforms will contain, as usual, a wholesale condemnation of all trusts. The increase in the cost of trust-controlled articles is, however, a more eloquent declaration against these great combinations of capital and industries than can be penned by any framer of convention platforms.

Exhibitions of political sagacity on the part of the Democratic leaders in Congress are so rare as to make worthy of note the tactics displayed by them when the Cuban Reciprocity Bill was before the House. This measure provided for a concession of twenty per cent in the tariff imposed upon all articles entering the United States from Cuba. It was asserted by the opponents of the proposed legislation, who were mainly Representatives from beet-sugar States, that the benefit of this reduction would largely inure to the profit of the sugar trust. That corporation being a very large purchaser of Cuban sugar, the principal item of export from the island, and also controlling the price at which refined sugar is sold in the United States, it is easy to understand how it could put into its own treasury the immense amount of money saved through the payment of lower duties. In order to offset this alleged benefit, the Democrats of the House, assisted by what are known as the beet-sugar Republicans, secured the adoption of an amendment to the bill abolishing the tariff on refined sugars, known as the differential tariff. This was a severe and unexpected blow at the sugar trust; for it aimed at the removal of the protective barrier which gives the trust the monopoly of the American market by preventing the importation into this country of the product of the German beet-sugar refineries.

When the bill went to the Senate, therefore, it provided for the desired reciprocity with Cuba with the certainty that the sugar trust would not benefit thereby. Owing to serious divisions among the Republican senators, the bill has not yet been reported to the Senate from the Committee on Relations with Cuba. It is expected, however, that the committee will allow the reciprocal provision to remain, while the amendment adversely affecting the trust will be eliminated. The Republicans will explain this action on the ground that unless protection is removed from all other manufactured articles, such as steel, iron, glass,

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etc., there is no reason why the sugar refiner should be singled out and made to suffer. The Democrats may be expected, however, to make the most of the dilemma in which the Senate Republicans find themselves. At the present time, the bill has not been taken up in the Senate for consideration, and a long and bitter contest is promised before the final vote is taken. It will be opposed upon the grounds that increased importations of Cuban cane sugar will threaten the rapidly growing beet-sugar industry, and also that it is an insidious assault upon the protective system; it will be advocated as a necessary prelude to increased trade with Cuba and as a redemption of the promises made to the Cubans by the late President McKinley. The proportion of Republicans in the Senate is so large that it can lose at least twelve votes and still leave the forty-five necessary for a majority. The prospect is that the bill will pass the Senate in the shape in which it is reported; but whether the coalition in the House between the Democrats and the beet-sugar Republicans will then remain firm is a question which cannot now be answered. The House may recede from its position; but if, on the other hand, it compels the Senate to accept its view, the removal of the differential tariff will be the first serious blow ever dealt at a trust. Failure to enact any legislation will be tantamount to a confession that no relief could be given Cuba if such relief was coupled with legislation adverse to the sugar trust; and this is a position which, it seems to me, the Republicans will hardly care to assume.

Although the Ohio Republicans, in their State Convention, declared in favor of reciprocity with Cuba, thus indorsing the President's position, it is hardly likely that the question will become a political issue, except in so far as its consideration is interwoven with the attitude of both parties toward the sugar trust. It should be remarked, in passing, that the action taken by the House in amending the bill after it had been reported from the Ways and Means Committee was the first successful revolt against the Republican leaders of the House. Since that time the House has, more than once, exercised the same independence, notably in passing the bill for the admission of Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona as States. The party managers in the House threw the weight of their influence against it, but without avail. The bill is now before the Senate Committee on Territories, with little prospect of favorable action. There is no desire on the part of the Republican majority of that committee to increase the number of Senators.

Examination of the party platforms already adopted by State con-

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ventions indicates that the principal political issues are the Philippines, the trusts, and the tariff. All efforts on the part of Western Republicans to lower the rates of the present Dingley Law have been futile, and it is quite certain that Congress will adjourn without any legislation in this direction. The Democrats, arguing that high tariff breeds trusts, will urge a reduction. Nearly ten years have passed since the Democrats made a sad exhibition of incapacity in their attempt to revise the tariff, and plunged the country into a long and gloomy period of uncertainty and business derangement. Perhaps the memory of that disastrous experience has faded from the minds of the American people; if not, it is hard to imagine that its repetition will be deliberately invited. There may be inequalities and even iniquities in the present tariff; but a wholesale overhauling of the schedules by unfriendly hands is a contingency not to be contemplated without some anxiety on the part of the business interests of the country.

It is very easy to predict that one issue will not appear in the campaign. We shall hear nothing about the free coinage of silver. Even in Kansas, where the advocates of free coinage once thrived in generous numbers, a Democratic State Convention recently met, adopted a platform, and adjourned, without mentioning silver. The Indiana Democratic State Convention was equally silent. In the Senate a few days ago Senator Stewart of Nevada, formerly the most rabid believer in the white metal, announced that the silver issue was dead, and added, quite truthfully, that any man who attempted to revive it upon the stump would be greeted with laughter. Mr. Stewart's explanation of the changed condition is that the enormous discoveries of gold have made money plentiful, and that additional coinage of silver is unnecessary to meet the demands of trade. Whether or not this be the true explanation, the fact remains that the financial question has been eliminated for the present, at least, from the field of politics. The lack of public interest was shown when the House recently discussed a bill relating to subsidiary silver coinage. Two years ago the debate would have been followed with close attention, and would have engaged the leaders of both parties. As it was, the bill was discussed in a most perfunctory manner. Even the proposition to continue the silver standard in the Philippines and enter upon the coinage of an American Philippine dollar, to be worth only its bullion value and not to be legal tender in the United States, was agreed to in the Senate without the slightest debate. Indeed, if Senator Lodge had not briefly explained the proposition in his analysis of the bill, the subject would not even have been mentioned.

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The disappearance of the silver issue will undoubtedly affect the selection of the next Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

When Mr. Bryan visited Washington some time ago and conferred with Democratic Senators and Representatives, he manifested considerable interest in the effort to secure an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the people. His desire to make this proposition a political issue met with the sympathy of many of his party friends, and they pledged him their support. The progress of the amendment toward ratification has, however, been blocked by an adroit move on the part of its opponents.

The amendment passed the House without debate and by a unanimous vote. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which Senator Burrows of Michigan, an advocate of popular election of Senators, is the chairman. Senator Depew of New York offered the following amendment:

> The qualifications of citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections, and the certification of the result.

Very innocent these few lines appear; and yet they have naturally aroused the earnest opposition of the Democrats who favor popular election of Senators. An analysis of Mr. Depew's proposition shows that it proposed federal supervision of elections, in the most wholesale manner. Its enactment would at once enable a Republican Congress, supported by a Republican President, to pass laws which would nullify all that has been done in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and North Carolina in the direction of suppressing the negro vote by imposing conditions under which the illiterate negroes cannot qualify. Mr. Depew's argument for the adoption of his amendment is a plausible one. He says that under the present system the Legislature elects Senators and is the judge of the qualifications of its members. When, however, legislative authority for the election of Senators is removed, some competent tribunal must be substituted to judge the qualifications of the people who vote, and he proposes to give Congress this jurisdiction.

Mr. Depew's amendment has created a deadlock in the committee. There is a majority against the original proposition as it came from the House; there is a majority, composed of Republicans, in favor of adding Mr. Depew's suggestion; and there is a majority against the original

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proposition with the amendment added. At the present writing a resolution is pending in the Senate to discharge the committee from further consideration of the subject. It is probable that if this resolution is adopted the Democrats will seek to defeat Mr. Depew's amendment, failing in which they will be forced to abandon their efforts to secure favorable action upon the original proposition; for they will never agree to the federal supervision over elections which is authorized in Mr. Depew's amendment.

The suppression of the negro vote in the South has also come before the House in a resolution, offered by Representative Crumpacker, of Indiana, providing for the appointment of a committee of thirteen

> whose duty it shall be, and who shall have full and ample power, to investigate and inquire into the validity of the election laws of the several States and the manner of their enforcement, and whether the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of any of the States or the members of the Legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of any of the States, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for crime.

The introduction of this resolution led to a caucus of the Republican members of the House, an indorsement of the proposed investigation being agreed upon after some discussion. The Committee on Rules was asked to bring the resolution before the House, and semi-official announcement was made that such action would be taken by the Committee. Up to the present time, however, the Committee has been quiescent, and it is generally believed that the inquiry has been abandoned. The action on the part of the Republicans afforded the Democrats a rallying cry, and solidified their party in the South. There is little doubt that if the investigation had been ordered it would only have resulted in eliciting facts already known regarding conditions in the South, without securing any remedy therefor. It would also have aroused sectional feeling, and would have retarded to a very considerable degree the progress which the Republican party is said to be making in the Southern States.

The relations between the President and Congress continue amicable. The predictions freely made when Mr. Roosevelt entered upon the duties of his office, that he would speedily become involved in controversies with one or the other branch of Congress, have not been realized, nor are there underneath the surface any indications of disagreement. His political appointments have been satisfactory to the Senate, except in a few minor instances.

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The fact that the President desires the honor of a renomination at the hands of his party is no secret. With his customary frankness he has avowed his ambition in that direction. It is of interest, therefore, to note that the recent Republican State Convention of Kansas took the initiative in formally indorsing him as the party candidate in 1904. The commendatory plank in the platform was as follows:

> He has so discharged his duties as to win the respect and affection of the people. We are proud of his ability, his courage, and his sturdy Americanism, and we pledge him the cordial and earnest support of Kansas Republicans. Kansas looks forward to the glorious time, but two years distant, when the victorious Republican party will march under banners bearing this inscription: "For President, Theodore Roosevelt."

And the Ohio Republican State Convention had this to say of the President:

> We cordially sustain President Roosevelt in his pledge to carry forward the great work which came to him as a sacred legacy. We recognize his earnest and conscientious devotion to the welfare of the people, and approve the high aims and character of his Administration. He faithfully maintains the plighted faith of the nation, upholds the best standard of the public service, and stands by the policies which assure stability and confidence. He represents a civic patriotism of the highest type, and the destinies of the country are safe in his hands. In his frank, able, and courageous efforts to protect the public interests he is entitled to full and unreserved support.

This eulogy from a convention absolutely dominated by Senator Hanna is significant. It shows that Mr. Hanna is as loyal to the present President as he was to President McKinley. There may come a time in the future when the Ohio Republicans will take occasion to present Mr. Hanna's name as a candidate for the Presidency; but he has said, over his own signature, that he is not an aspirant for Presidential honors. He has made the same statement in private conversation. He is entitled to be taken at his word; and I do not believe that the praise accorded by him to the President in the Ohio declaration is insincere. At any rate, up to the present time, the President has had smooth sailing in the waters of his party. There have been no storms, not even a roughing of the sea. To this extent, at least, the political pessimists have been disappointed.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE last half of the last three months has witnessed many important international events. The world has taken part in the coronation of two kings. It has seen a new republic come into being. It has seen France pass safely through the throes of a national election; and a national election in France is always a political manifestation to be regarded with concern by the world, so fickle are the French and so uncertain their politics. It has seen the only war waged under modern conditions and with modern implements of warfare, brought to a termination, and peace, after having been broken for three years, reigning over the entire world with the exception of the guerilla struggle carried on in the Philippines. It has seen one of the most picturesque islands of the Antilles ruined, and its people wiped out of existence in the twinkling of an eye. It has deplored the death of an ambassador who, loyal to his sovereign, was no less loyal to the country to which he was accredited and for which he had such a sincere affection.

The coronation of King Edward VII affords an opportunity for the British Empire to take stock of itself and find out whether, as so many of its detractors assert and hope, it is ready to apply for a receiver and go out of business, or whether despite the stress of the last three years it is still solvent, still able to continue in business, still one of the world's greatest commercial and political forces. Envy, malice, and prejudice to the contrary notwithstanding, the impartial observer of events, who reads the future of nations by the light of their past and who draws on history for the causes that bring about the decline of empires, must agree that, although England has been humiliated, has lost some of her prestige, and has exhibited to the world crass incompetence in many ways, she is still very powerful, very prosperous, and very rich; she is still feared as much as she is admired; she is still, in some respects, the wonder of the world. For what country except England could have carried on this war in South Africa with such slight disturbance to her domestic affairs? What other country could have stood

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the enormous financial burden, and prevented the rest of the world from profiting by her misfortunes? Is it conceivable that France, or Russia, or Germany, or Italy — the phrase "the rest of the world" ought more properly to read "the rest of the European world," because the United States, of course, stands alone geographically as well as financially and politically, and is not affected by European politics — could have done what England has done without its people being reduced to the direst extremities and suffering under the burden of increased taxation?

In France, in similar circumstances, we should have seen another revolution, perhaps a restoration of the monarchy, at least a *coup d'état* and a change in the head of the state. In Russia, Nihilist uprisings would have been a matter of course; for in a country where the forces continually plotting against the existing order of things are only kept in subjection by the stern and brutal weight of military oppression and terror, the denuding of the country of its regular army, as has been the case in England, would have given the enemies of law the chance for which they had so long sought — an opportunity they would not have been slow to avail themselves of, especially as they would have been forced on by the pangs of hunger. In Germany, as well as in Italy and Austria, a prolonged struggle, with the cost pressing harder and harder upon the people least able to bear it, with hundreds of thousands of men withdrawn from gainful occupations and industry languishing, would have fanned into eruption the always smouldering flame of anarchy. This would have happened in Germany, perhaps, in a less degree than in Italy and Austria; but the philosophic socialists who have increased so enormously in the German Empire during the last ten years are the men who would most strenuously oppose war and protest against the discomforts that are attendant on war.

Not less remarkable — not less significant of the fear in which England is held by Europe — is the fact that, although England is the centre of an armed camp, although her enemies covet her property and would be only too glad to administer upon it if they considered it safe to wrest it from her, although her military resources have been taxed to the utmost and the financial burden has been a heavy one, none of her enemies has regarded it as prudent to attempt to profit by her misfortunes. Nor is this due to altruism. Statecraft knows not the meaning of that word. To drive a hard bargain with your enemy when he is down and unable to offer resistance has always been looked upon as the height of political wisdom and perfectly legitimate. The nation that wars and loses, like the individual who buys when he ought to sell,

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must pay for its ignorance and credulity. Russia, France, and Germany stood hands off because they feared that, while the Lion was maimed, he was still the Lion, and all the other animals have a wholesome fear of the Lion. More than that, although England had her teeth sunk deep in Africa, she was still able to checkmate Russia's unscrupulous plans in China and to thwart the ambitious designs of France.

No contrast is more striking than that between the England of sixty-four years ago, when the beautiful young girl was crowned Queen, and the England of to-day, at the coronation of the Seventh Edward. The history of England under the reign of Victoria is the history of the world's progress in art, in science, in literature, in humanity, in wealth, and in commerce. In all that goes to make progress England has taken the leading part. To England's commanding place in commerce is due, perhaps, her present military impotence; to her wealth is, perhaps, due her inefficiency, and in some respects it cannot be denied that she is terribly inefficient. The carelessness and ignorance which made commanders in South Africa time and again lead their men into ambuscades, which made them ignore the most ordinary precautions, which taught them nothing, although all the world had learned the lesson, find their parallel on the field of commerce, and make it easy for the American to wage successfully the industrial campaign.

From this it might be inferred, if the teachings of history are to be accepted as a safe guide, that, England like Rome having reached her apogee, there was about to be witnessed a declension of empire which, in the course of the century, would make of her a second Holland. There is this, however, to be remembered, that civilization to-day rests on an entirely different structure from that when Rome, from having been the proud mistress of the world, lost her power. To-day world supremacy rests on commerce; in a word, on efficiency in trade. The causes that make a nation a great military power are the same that make a nation great commercially. Trained specialists, masters of their art and craft, enterprise, initiative, resource — these are the qualities that count in the one case as in the other. A military commander who is dull-witted; who is "conservative," which is the polite term for "ignorant"; who is indifferent; who is rash when he ought to be cautious and cautious when he ought to be bold to the verge of recklessness — such a man will lose a battle or be forced to surrender in the same way as the "conservative," over-cautious trader will lose his markets. A nation that loses its markets must lose its possessions and its world's rank.

It has been an expensive, but perhaps not a wasted, lesson. There

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are signs that England is awakening. The influence of America is telling. England is neither dead nor dying. She is not so hopelessly sunk in the sloth of inertia that she cannot be aroused. The English are still a virile, enterprising, energetic, resourceful people; less energetic and less resourceful than they ought to be, because they have become "soft" by too much wealth and too much prosperity, and because for so long they have been contemptuous of the rest of the world. But the one thing that in a measure has made them less efficient than they ought to be has been, paradoxical as it may appear, their salvation. Kipling was quite right when he told his countrymen that they were "flannelled fools" and spent too much time in play; and yet it is the Englishman's love for play, for healthy outdoor sports, for cricket and football and hunting big game and athletics of all kinds, that has kept up the stamina of the race and preserved its *morale*. A nation that plays in the open air, that plays its own games instead of hiring professionals to play them for it, is too healthy to be despaired of. If it found its amusements in bull-fights or cock-fights or sitting in cafés sipping absinthe, its friends might well feel that it had entered upon its decadence.

The influence of America upon European civilization — on its methods, its thought, and its ideas — is so patent that one does not need to enter into any elaboration here; but two things that have recently happened emphasize this influence and show the democratization of Europe. Not long ago Emperor William, who delights in doing the unexpected, but whose apparently ill-considered actions usually have a good deal of sound reasoning at the back of them, stirred up the German nobility, which, with the possible exception of the Spanish, is the most intolerant and arrogant nobility in Europe, by entertaining some of the prominent captains of industry. What made the Emperor's offence all the more unpardonable was that among them were several Jews; for the prejudice against the Jews in Germany is hardly less intense than it is in Austria, and it will be remembered that a minister designate of the United States to Austria was a few years ago declared *persona non grata* because he professed the Jewish faith. The Emperor's cordiality to men of affairs was doubtless inspired by the accounts which his brother, Prince Henry, brought back of the captains of industry in the United States. Emperor William is clever enough to see that if Germany is to take her place among the leading commercial nations of the world, others than hereditary nobles, many of whom have nothing to recommend them except the accident of birth, must share in imperial favors.

Another instance of democratic ideas, or perhaps it would be more

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proper to say American ideas, is the appointment by the British Government of Mr. Carden to be the first British minister to the new republic of Cuba. It is very unusual for a member of the consular service to be transferred to a diplomatic post, as in England there is a hard-and-fast line drawn between consuls and diplomatists; the former representing vulgar trade, while the latter are the aristocrats of the profession, and for them are reserved the great prizes. Doubtless the British Government came to the conclusion that a good man of business, a man who had had experience in Cuba, was a more fitting appointee than one who owed his position to influence. Whatever the reason, it is a hopeful sign.

So much is constantly said by careless writers about England's isolation and unpopularity in Europe, especially since the South African War, that one would think it was quite a new thing for England to find herself without friends. If those persons will re-read their history they will find that England's isolation is not a matter of to-day or yesterday, but has existed for the last thirty-five years at least. Lord Russell, writing to Mr. Gladstone on September 17, 1865, from Balmoral, where he was then the minister in attendance on the Queen, tersely pointed out the feeling existing in Europe against England, which is typical of the same feeling existing to-day:

> My Dear Mr. Gladstone: On looking over your letter on the subject of arbitration, of the 2d of September, I feel I ought to say something more to you on that head.
>
> The defect — the necessary defect — of the Convention, or Protocol, of Paris is that no impartial tribunal is provided.
>
> Buchanan said to Clarendon on one occasion, "We have no arbitrator to whom we can refer. We always used to refer to the Emperor of Russia because he always decided in our favor. But now you have gone to war with Russia we must refuse arbitration." This was candid and true.
>
> I had no objection to refer to the Senate of Hamburg and to King Leopold the question whether Peru owed a small sum of money to an Englishman, or whether English officers were sober and insulted or drunk and insolent. On such trumpery cases nations used to make war, and will, I hope, make war no longer. But if we were to refer to any such powers the question whether we were to pay five, ten, or twenty millions, I have no doubt the arbiter would say, "England is the tyrant of the seas. She is very rich. Let her pay twenty millions. It will do her good."

All the world breathed a sigh of relief when the official announcement was made in London that terms of peace had been signed which brought the Boer war to an end. It has been a long and costly war, but the statement so loosely made in numerous publications that it was the most expensive war of the century in which it originated, both in lives lost and money, is not borne out by the facts. Compared with the

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Civil War the loss of life and the cost of the Boer war is trifling; the loss of life, about which so much has been said, was less than that of Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, less than that of Russia in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. It has cost enough, in all conscience, but it has been less costly and less bloody than some of the other great wars of modern times.

Both sides, no less than all the rest of the world, were weary of a struggle that could have only one ending. When the capitals of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic fell into the hands of the British, when President Kruger ran away leaving his wife behind him and his generals to carry on the war in their own way, when the war became simply a guerilla contest which could only be terminated by every burgher in the field either being killed or captured, when the British Government was determined not to stay its hand until the last spark of rebellion had been stamped out, and when all the rest of the world looked on indifferently at the struggle, making no hostile move against England and offering no assistance to the Boers, it was obvious that the superior numbers and greater resources of the British would tell in the long run, and that the doom of the burghers was sealed.

Possibly the whole world was not unwilling to see that end reached. While the people of many countries were sympathetically inclined in favor of the Boers and, for personal and political reasons, antagonistic to England; while in some parts of Europe and in the United States the compassion of many persons was aroused by the alluring name of a republic, although it was a republic in name only but an oligarchy in fact, and a very corrupt, unprogressive, and illiberal oligarchy with little to redeem it except the personal courage of the people; the world undoubtedly realized that South Africa under English rule would see the beginning of another forward step in the work of civilization, and that whatever might be to the advantage of the world in the wealth and trade of South Africa would be thrown open to all the world on equal terms the moment the supremacy of the British flag was acknowledged.

The terms of surrender granted by England are unexpectedly generous. They show that she will leave nothing undone to make the Dutch loyal to their new flag, and that she will do everything possible to wipe out the bitter memories of the struggle. The burghers of the Transvaal and Orange Free State lose their independence — that was the *sine qua non* which the British Government would not discuss — but once it was accepted by the Dutch the rest followed as a matter of course. Revenge plays no part in the terms. There are to be no trials for high treason;

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death is not to be the penalty of the men who took up arms against England, who made a gallant fight, and who were defeated but not disgraced. Even the Cape rebels, British subjects who joined an enemy making war against their government, who in the United States or any other country would be declared guilty of high treason, are not to suffer the death penalty. So soon as the circumstances permit the military government will be succeeded by the civil government, and representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced. The Boers now held as prisoners of war are to be returned to their homes at the expense of the British Government, which will make them a gift of $15,000,000 in money to enable the burghers to restock their farms, and will in addition make loans, free of interest for two years and repayable over a series of years at three per cent interest. No special tax will be imposed on the Transvaal or the Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war. These terms have amazed the world. Compared with the terms imposed on the conquered South by the victorious North they appear extravagant to the extreme limit of quixotic generosity. The men who fought in the Confederate ranks were given a few horses and mules for their spring ploughing, and this was regarded as extraordinary liberality on the part of the victor; the British Government gives to the Boers $15,000,000 in money and advances money at a nominal rate of interest.

The end crowns the whole. The British Government was forced into war to vindicate its self-respect and to protect its citizens. It was not a war of greed or oppression. It was a war of principle. It was not a war to obtain possession of the gold mines. It was a war for equal rights. Now that the war is over, the principle for which it was fought is clearly seen. No effort is made to punish the former foe, or to steal his property, or to lay upon him intolerable burdens. No man loses his gold mine or his farm; no man pays more of the cost of the war than the most loyal subject. The Boers, from all accounts, are accepting the terms in the spirit in which they were granted, and there is every reason to believe that a few years hence South Africa will be as loyal to British rule as every other part of the empire.

The coronation of Alfonso XIII a few weeks before that of his "well-beloved cousin" Edward of England strikingly emphasizes the lesson, which Spain has not yet learned, that nations lose their power because of the stupidity of their rulers. The history of Spain is the history of ignorance, cruelty, and oppression; the history of great opportunities

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thrown away because the men at the head of affairs were not clever enough to make use of them; the history of the Crown ruling with such a heavy hand that revolution was inevitable. When one recalls the history of Spain; when one thinks of its former greatness and all that it has done for the world, for the world owes to Spain a considerable debt of gratitude even if that debt is partly cancelled by recollections of some of its iniquities; when one thinks of Spain the Mistress of the Seas and the Indies and the Americas, and thinks of the Spain of to-day, one sees how injustice and ignorance have been rewarded with their just deserts.

The loss of Cuba and the Philippines is undoubtedly a blessing in disguise to Spain. Instead of the United States having paid Spain $20,000,000 for the surrender of the Philippines, Spain could very well have afforded to pay that sum and many times more to the United States and might have still considered that she had the best of the bargain. The Spanish colonies were simply a heavy drain upon the mother country. It is true that, to some extent, they afforded a market for Spanish goods, but it was a market purchased at a heavy cost. Nor did Spain, in latter years, look at her colonies from the standpoint of the trader and regard them as a profitable asset, which could only be profitable to the mother country if they were profitable to themselves. Colonies were simply for the purpose of exploitation; their people were always a conquered, alien people who existed for the benefit of the governing classes. Cuba and the Philippines were convenient places to which to send a great man who had to be taken care of and whose purse needed replenishing, a governor who carried in his train a crowd of unscrupulous politicians or adventurers, who went into temporary exile and reconciled themselves to banishment by lining their pockets. The last thing these men thought about or cared about was the material or moral advancement of the people over whom they were set in authority.

Politically, Spain to-day is a negligible quantity, whose enmity or friendship the great powers need not take into account so far as they are individually concerned, but which might, perhaps, be of some importance in case of a European war, especially in case of a war between France and England. Except for that contingency Spain need no longer be reckoned with as a factor in the European political equation; and if the rulers of Spain are able to forget the past and adjust themselves to modern conditions — which is the very last thing the Spanish ruler is able to do — they will cease to play the farce of international politics and will turn all their energies to the industrial reorganization of the country.

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The people are industrious, frugal, and intelligent; they are skilled workers in many lines. The country itself has great natural resources. All that Spain wants, all that the Spanish people ask, in order to be one of the most prosperous and contented countries in Europe, is to be let alone; especially to be let alone by the hierarchy of the state and the church. It is between the grinding exactions of state and church that the masses of Spain have been made morose, dissatisfied, and conspirators; it is these exactions which have made them revolutionists, and have caused them to turn a ready ear to the pernicious doctrines of agitators. The Spaniard, peasant or artisan, is by temperament of all men the most docile, the most contented, the most careful to observe the laws, and the most easily governed; and it is only the most stupendous folly and greed that make him rebel against lawfully constituted authority and drive him into revolt.

If the young King and his ministers turn their attention to setting their house in order; if they reduce taxation, which is now excessive and bears heavily on a people too poor not to feel the tax-gatherer's heavy hand; if they readjust the financial system and place the country on a gold basis; if they administer the government honestly and economically; if they clean out the Augean stable of corruption, encourage men of ability and honesty to enter the public service, and punish with all the severity for which the Spanish law is famous the dishonest, the corrupt, and the inefficient, Spain twenty-five years hence may be one of the richest, the most prosperous, and the most contented countries of Europe. But to accomplish these wonders the ruler of Spain must be a modern St. George, prepared to do long and desperate battle with the dragon that has laid waste the land.

No one can say whether the boy who was crowned amidst such pomp a few weeks ago is possessed of these knightly qualities; whether he will exhibit the folly of Philip II or the still greater folly of Philip III, or whether he will show the wisdom of Charles III and surround himself with ministers wise enough to show him the path to follow. If there flows in his veins the blood of his father rather than that of his mother, if he is not clever enough to be the maker of his own policy or wise enough to accept the advice of patriotic ministers, the bloodshed and revolutions which have made Spain the bloodiest country in Europe during the last thirty years will again arouse the horror of the world, and once again the area of Spain will diminish. Spain will split up. Out of the fragments there may be erected a miniature kingdom, a grand duchy, even a republic, but the kingdom of Spain, as we know it to-

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day, will no longer exist. The future of Spain will be written in the future of a sixteen-year-old boy.

A national election is not so spectacular as a coronation, but in a republic or a constitutional monarchy where the people govern, the voice of the people manifested at the polls is of more real importance than the anointing of a king or the placing of a sceptre in the hands of an emperor. The French national elections, which took place in May, were of the greatest importance not only to France, but also to the world at large, because they assured the continuance of the policy of the one French ministry of recent years that has shown itself best fitted to govern the French people. It was a ministry that kept its head during some extremely trying moments; that preferred peace rather than the doubtful glory to be found in war; that had the good sense to prefer to be on good terms with both Germany and England — in a word, the one ministry of republican France that displayed the qualities of sanity, wisdom, and statesmanship. It enjoyed a longer lease of power than any other cabinet of the Third Republic. Called into existence as a compromise following upon the Dreyfus agitation, it was generally believed that it would simply serve as a stop-gap, and that, after a more or less stormy existence, it would go the way of all other French ministries. M. Waldeck-Rousseau took office on June 22, 1899. This date, better than anything else, tells in the smallest space the instability of French politics when it is recalled that the late cabinet holds the record. The ministry that most nearly approaches to it was that of Jules Ferry.

Not only is it gratifying to see M. Waldeck-Rousseau receive this mark of confidence from the country, but it is, perhaps, even more gratifying to note that the party of which he is the head commands overwhelming support in the Chamber, and that the government majority is now so large that the tactics of the opposition will cause little apprehension. The fangs of the National party have been drawn. The Nationalists were a band of incendiaries who were longing to set all Europe in a blaze. The defeat of M. Drumont, the notorious anti-Semitic deputy from Algiers, is the deathblow to the anti-Semitic party, whose death no decent man will mourn. The Government can count on a majority of 185 votes against the combined opposition, a majority which in England or the United States would make the dominating party so absolutely sure of its position that it would carry through its legislative programme without the slightest regard to the minority. But one can-

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not always be sure of majorities in the Chamber. In France it is the unexpected that always happens; and parties in France are not cohesive, as they are in the English-speaking countries, but are made up of factions — factions which have a tendency to disintegrate and dissolve over a minor issue. Sufficient for the day, however, is the majority of 185.

It is to be regretted that the condition of his health compels M. Waldeck-Rousseau to retire from the premiership. A man of great common sense; not an orator in the French sense of the term, but rather with the American or English way of making his parliamentary statements — that is, concise, terse, and businesslike; somewhat brusque in manner when he has to listen to bores or men so impressed with their own importance that they persist in hearing themselves talk; a very brilliant and witty man when he takes the trouble to be either brilliant or witty; a man of infinite tact, conciliatory when it is advisable to be so, but never yielding to the point of weakness; a man of great courage — the retirement of this man from the head of affairs is a distinct loss to France, and not less so to all the rest of the world.

The reëlection of M. Millerand, the minister of commerce in the late ministry, is a subject of distinct gratification, because, in addition to being a man of high attainments, M. Millerand, next to the late premier and M. Delcassé — whose prudence and self-restraint have more than once curbed the impetuosity of the jingoes of the Boulevards — has done more than any one else to make the Waldeck-Rousseau Administration a success. M. Millerand is a Socialist, a word that is so loosely used in these days that it means nothing and is interpreted by every one according to his own prejudice. But M. Millerand is a scientific socialist, and his doctrine has nothing in common with anarchy or communism, but much in common with philanthropy and the doctrine of humanity that Christ preached. Some of the advanced ideas that M. Millerand advocated could not be carried out because the political conditions would not permit; but now that the party to which he has allied himself is stronger than ever before, it is reasonable to expect that the sociological experiments that are known to be very close to M. Millerand's heart will be put into effect. France in the near future may be expected to take an advanced position on old-age pensions, on a tax on incomes that will make the rich bear a fairer share of the burden of taxation, and on the socialization of public utilities. Nor is it at all unlikely that an attempt will be made to increase the productive power of the nation by reducing the period of military service; the withdrawal of men

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from gainful occupations to serve with the colors for three years diminishing the industrial ranks and curtailing production.

M. Loubet, the President of the French Republic, having made his annual pilgrimage to Russia, and the Czar and the President having toasted each other and publicly proclaimed that the alliance still exists and has in its keeping the peace of the world, we may shortly expect the announcement of a new Russian loan placed by Paris bankers. The pleasure of supplying Russia with funds appears to be about the only pleasure or profit that France derives from her alliance with the Colossus of the North. Russia is a land of many mysteries, but no mystery is greater than her financial position. According to official statements, Russia is not only able to meet all ordinary expenditures out of current revenues, but she is able to carry over a surplus. Yet, in face of this surplus, she is constantly borrowing. I have not as yet been able to obtain M. de Witte's latest budget report, but the estimate for 1901, which was considered so favorable that a special edition was issued in English, is interesting reading. The ordinary revenue amounted to 1,730,000,000 roubles, and the expenditure to 1,657,000,000 roubles, leaving a surplus of 73,500,000 roubles, or about $36,750,000, taking the gold value of the rouble roughly at fifty cents. This surplus, however, was wiped out by an extraordinary expenditure of 132,000,000 roubles, which was to be met by the increased revenue from the state railways and the government monopoly of spirits. But, while the revenue from the state railways increased only 3,000,000 roubles, that from the sale of spirits increased over 51,041,000 roubles. It will be seen from this that there would have been a deficit instead of a surplus had not the consumption of spirits increased enormously. It is not the railway but the dram-shop that saves the Russian position.

How Russia can continue to borrow and meet her obligations unless she continues to borrow to pay interest on borrowed capital is a problem in finance which has long puzzled the matter-of-fact Western financier. Russia is not a great manufacturing country like the United States or Great Britain. She cannot liquidate her foreign obligations in commodities. She is an agricultural country, and in agriculture she has to compete with all the world. Men who have made a study of Russia agree that she has tremendous resources, and that the time will come when she will have to be reckoned with as one of the great industrial factors in the world's progress. But that must be a long time in the future. In the meanwhile she will face more than one great financial and economic

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crisis. She is planning her empire as if she had at her command all the wealth of all the world, and no ambitious scheme is frustrated because of its cost. So long as she can borrow, the hour of reckoning is postponed. What facilitates Russia's borrowing operations is that, unlike Turkey or some of the South American states — which are equally enmeshed in debt and would be equally able to meet this debt if their natural resources were properly developed and their finances honestly administered — she has never repudiated an obligation or deferred an interest payment.

The Russian tariff is now practically prohibitive; and any increase, no matter how slight, would tend still further to check importations and reduce the revenue from customs. The nation is poor, so poor that the direct taxes bear heavily enough on the people least able to bear them. To increase these taxes would make it impossible for the tax-gatherer to squeeze the tithe out of an impoverished peasantry. Millions of roubles poured into the trans-Siberian railroad and other works at present nonproductive, although destined at some future day to be, perhaps, commercially profitable, are now simply a heavy drain, and require heavy interest payments to meet the loan of the borrowed capital. The future of Russia is so largely entwined in her economic and financial development that the latter may influence her political course during the next generation.

The German Emperor is undoubtedly the cleverest politician in Europe at the present time. Any one who makes a close study of his character must be impressed by the fact that the man whom not so many years ago it was the fashion to call impetuous, rash, and undisciplined is really one of those extraordinarily clever men who do nothing on the spur of the moment, although their methods create the contrary impression, and who, when they do a thing, do it because they have a definite object in view. It is frequently supposed by spectators who take a long-range view of the game, who are unable to follow all the moves or to estimate their correct value, that the German Emperor is a rash and reckless player. Nothing could be more false. He plays the game of politics with unusual deliberation, and he makes each stroke tell. Germany, scarcely more than a second-rate power when he came to the throne, is to-day one of the greatest powers in the world. Germany was feared for its army and its military prestige, and the rest of the world dreaded that this young man — who had never submitted himself to restraint, who had dismissed Bismarck without a moment's hesitation, who had shown his ill-con-

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cealed dislike for his mother's relatives and his contempt for the Germany across the seas, the United States — would soon plunge into war merely for the pleasure of putting his huge army in motion.

He has done none of the things the world anticipated. He has kept the peace, although there was provocation to break it. He has established a fairly good *entente* with France; he has won the hearts of the English by the emotion he displayed at the grave of their Queen and his grandmother; he has remained on cordial terms with Russia; he has renewed the triple alliance with Austria and Italy, and, doubtless remembering Bismarck even although he dismissed him, has a secret agreement with Russia; he has won the friendship of the Sultan and has been given a free hand in Asia Minor; he forced Lord Salisbury into making a convention as to China which gave Germany everything and Great Britain nothing; he ranged himself on the side of France and Russia after the Chinese-Japanese war, and wrested from Japan the spoils of victory; he had Count Waldersee made commander-in-chief of the allied forces in China; and, quite recently, he has discovered the United States and wiped out the memories of the past by his exuberant expressions of good will. In a word, nothing is done these days without the German Emperor first being consulted. In every quarter of the globe the hand of Germany is seen and felt. Germany is not the greatest manufacturing and commercial nation in the world, but she is one of the greatest politically. And this position has been won by the "impetuous" man without his having fired a shot or mobilized an army corps. The man who was to set all the world aflame has been one of the greatest preservers of peace.

The chink in Germany's armor to-day is her scarcity of free capital. Germany has expanded at such a furious pace during the last two decades that she is in the position of a man doing an enormous business on a small capital, who is always cramped for ready money, and who must always borrow from his bank to keep his enterprises afloat. The empire has gone speculatively mad, not in buying and selling on the stock exchange, but in investment, in manufacturing, and in industrial concerns which, like similar corporations on this side of the water, are heavily over-capitalized. Moreover, German financiers have foolishly invested in foreign enterprises when they ought to have kept their money for home use. They have financed foreign government loans; they have put money in South America, Asia Minor, and China. Germany needs all her capital for the development of home industries. During the last twelve months a financial panic in Germany has more than once only been narrowly averted by heroic measures. A great smash there would

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not be surprising, but it would not affect the empire's financial standing. It would be simply the natural result of over-trading and over-confidence. It would clear the financial atmosphere, and put Germany on a sounder financial basis. And her strength and her solvency no man can question. If during the next quarter of a century Germany pushes ahead as fast as she has done during the last twenty-five years, she will have outstripped England in the race, and have become America's most formidable industrial competitor.

The birth of a new republic, a republic that has arisen from the ashes of a monarchy and has been tried in the crucible of war, is an interesting event, and doubly interesting in the case of Cuba because of the notable example that the United States has set to all the rest of the world. History, perhaps, records no similar instance of a nation so great and powerful as the United States observing its solemn obligations and relinquishing its grasp on territory that had come into its possession as the result of war; acting as guardian and trustee for a people, working earnestly in their behalf to make them realize the responsibilities of their sovereignty, and then retiring from an island that, geographically and politically, is an outpost of the more powerful nation, and whose retention the world would have condoned as being justified in the circumstances. The establishment of the Cuban Republic and the retirement of the United States from Cuba belong more properly to the department of American politics than to that of foreign affairs. I merely touch upon this event here because of the part it to-day plays, and may hereafter play, in international politics, and because the world did not believe until the 20th of last May that the self-denying ordinance adopted by Congress immediately prior to the declaration of war with Spain would be observed, or that the United States was sincere in its declarations of being more concerned about the welfare of the Cubans than desirous to acquire territory. American professions were regarded as disingenuous and dishonest. The world now knows the weight to be attached to an American pledge; the world now knows that the United States does not sell her honor for an island.

By the death of Lord Pauncefote the world loses one of its foremost diplomatists, Great Britain one of its most valuable servants, and the United States a friend who, at a time when the United States needed friends, showed his true and practical friendship. Lord Pauncefote was in many respects a remarkable man. A profound international lawyer,

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who would have taken leading rank at the bar had he remained in his profession instead of turning his talents to diplomacy, he achieved success as a diplomatist because the keynote of his character was absolute honesty and justice. In many respects the typical diplomatist — in his courtesy, his knowledge of men and things, his linguistic abilities, his wide reading, and the broad view he took of affairs — this man, who for more than half a century had been an important figure in great affairs, was ignorant of the tricks and guiles of diplomacy, and in all his dealings was as direct and honest as a simple country squire. To him deceit of any kind was abhorrent. His diplomacy consisted in making a bargain that should be fair to both sides. In his dealings with eight Secretaries of State, including men temperamentally antagonistic to each other, he not only retained their respect, but inspired in them a cordial affection; these men esteemed him no less for his great abilities than for his great qualities. In all the treaties he negotiated he was animated by the sole desire to eliminate friction between the United States and Great Britain and to bring the two countries closer together, because he believed that the civilization of the world was written in the language of the Anglo-Saxon race. Believing that the interests of the two countries were identical, believing that they were equally honest and equally desirous to keep the peace and to advance civilization and progress, and understanding the American character and temperament as well as an American, his diplomacy was always frank and open. He never resorted to subterfuge or trick. He saw no necessity for it. And it was because he lived up to his principles and took such a lofty view of life that he won the respect of the men with whom he was brought in contact, and made the people of two continents regret his death as the passing away of a friend whose loss will not be easily replaced.

A. Maurice Low.

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FINANCE.

THE chapter of financial history comprised in the last few months has been one of the most remarkable in the generation. It may best be characterized, perhaps, by saying that the noteworthy part of the season's incidents is not so much what has happened in American finance and industry as what has not. The upsetting of conservative and apparently reasonable predictions of reaction, the continuance and extension of an upward movement which had been checked with great violence in 1901 — these phenomena have bewildered many critics of the markets as much as they have encouraged others.

Broadly speaking, it appears that the impulse to American prosperity — as a result of the country's profitable harvests from 1897 to 1901, its increased export trade, and its accumulated domestic wealth — was too great to be arrested even by a series of decided shocks. The events of 1901 had certainly put the country's financial endurance to a sufficiently serious test. It is needless to go into detail over these numerous adverse incidents: the collapse of the public's bubble of Wall Street speculation in the panic of May 9; the partial failure of the corn crop, bringing the season's harvest down some six or seven hundred million bushels; the protracted strike of the steel trust's employees; the assassination of the President; the strain on the autumn money markets; and the downfall, with heavy losses to investors, of the attempt of the copper combination to hold the metal's price at its maximum. These dramatic events belong to the financial history of 1901; they bear upon 1902 chiefly because of the manner in which the movement of prosperity has progressed in spite of them.

At the beginning of the present season a belief was held in many quarters that the crop failure would necessarily result in diminished interior trade and railway earnings. Nothing of the sort has happened. What figures this season's domestic trade would have attained had the cereal harvests as a whole reached the maximum of 1900 is a matter of pure conjecture. The known facts are that, even with this commercial handicap, earnings of all reporting railways in this country, during the

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first four months of 1902, rose $16,000,000 over the corresponding period in 1901 — a gain of nearly eight per cent; while bank clearings for the same four months at interior cities ran fourteen to twenty-two per cent above last year. As might very naturally have been supposed, it was a movement of trade from East to West which made up a very substantial part of this notable railway showing.

Reports this season from all commercial distributing points throughout the country give evidence to the same effect. The interior communities, whose wealth has been heaped up so rapidly by the events of the last five years, have had plenty to spend and have been freely spending it. Nothing could more conclusively demonstrate the great and increasing wealth of these inland communities of ours than the returns of the banks which do their business. In February, at the beginning of this season, the Comptroller of the Currency called for the reports of the 4,300 national banks. His classified compilation, published later, showed that even as compared with the corresponding date in 1901 deposits in banks of the Middle West had increased $104,368,000; in the trans-Mississippi States, $27,216,000; in the South, $20,309,000; and on the Pacific slope, $20,659,000. As proof of the tangible resources of those sections, these figures are sufficiently convincing; but the same fact is even more strikingly illustrated by another branch of the Comptroller's figures. Deposits standing in other institutions to the credit of national banks of the Middle West, at the date referred to, were $22,881,000 greater than twelve months before. Similar credits of banks in the farther West showed an increase of $20,571,000. When, at the close of May, the similar returns of April 30 were made public, these same four interior sections showed deposits $30,000,000 larger than in February, and loans increased by $44,000,000. A very great part of this huge new loan account was placed in the Eastern market. This transfer of balances, especially from the Western banks to Eastern money markets, has been an influence of no small importance on the markets of this season.

Such additions to the resources of the Eastern banks have been an imperative necessity of the period. The one phenomenon which stands forth preëminent in the financial season has been the strain on banking credits. During the three months following the close of February, it was possible to say of each successive New York bank return that it showed the smallest ratio of reserves to liabilities reported at that date in a dozen years.

Uneasiness in the market, and a resultant hardening of money rates,

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seemed at the opening of March to be bringing automatic relief. The immense resources of the New York trust companies, whose deposit fund, outside of trust accounts, had risen from $198,000,000 in 1898 to $440,000,000 at the opening of this year, made them a very important factor in the situation.

Ordinarily, a trust company keeps on deposit with the banks a large amount of money, on which the banks pay two per cent; the trust company then keeping virtually no cash reserve in its own vaults. A rising money market offered inducements for the trust company to withdraw its deposits from the banks and loan the money itself. But the effect of such withdrawals, since cash itself was not withdrawn, clearly was to decrease the banks' deposit liabilities while leaving their cash reserve intact. This process was the perfectly evident explanation of a decrease in bank loans, during the seven weeks following the end of February, amounting to nothing short of $37,000,000.

It was plain enough that this decrease represented merely a shifting of loans and liabilities from one class of institutions to another. It was well understood, by all close observers of the situation, that the loan reduction at the banks was in no important sense a consequence of reduced demands by the borrowing community. The question then came down to this: Were the trust companies perfectly able to sustain the larger line of credits which they had assumed, so that the banks might count on permanent relief?

This question was discussed with some difference of opinion, made possible by the fact that the trust companies publish their statements twice a year only, so that their status between January and July can only be conjectured. But on April 29 a somewhat startling move was made by the clearing-house committee as the agent of the Associated Banks. In a formal circular this committee announced its purpose of requiring trust companies, who should in future ask the privilege of clearing checks through banks, "to keep in their vaults such percentage of cash reserve to its deposits as the clearing-house committee may determine." As stated, this requirement had no reference to the larger trust companies, which already by agreement enjoyed the facilities of the clearing-house. But it was plainly intimated by the authors of the circular that the move was only a first step in a more general reform which might result in similar rules for all trust companies doing a banking business.

This move of the banks was startling and significant; first, because it suggested that expansion of credits by the trust companies might have

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a normal and not very distant limit; and, second, because the establishment of a substantial cash reserve by those institutions would result necessarily in a large withdrawal of cash from the bank reserves. No further steps have yet been taken in this matter; but the initial move was sufficient to give warning that relief from the trust companies to the money market was an uncertain reliance. Furthermore, even after the shifting of loans to these companies, as already noticed, the banks failed to regain a strong position. With all this transfer of loans and liabilities, and with only a moderate weekly loss in cash, the New York banks continued during April to report a ratio of reserve to liabilities only a fraction over the twenty-five per cent named by the national banking law. In the second week of May the surplus over this percentage fell to $3,461,000, the lowest figure since the autumn of 1900.

Before the surplus had wholly disappeared, however, resort was had to two other measures of relief. Our accruing foreign liabilities had been such that exchange on Europe throughout the earlier months of 1902 had ranged in the neighborhood of the gold export point. In fact, during February $8,600,000 gold had been exported; during March, $4,400,000 — nearly all to France. The movement had increased the strain on the New York bank position. But in May a sudden and interesting change occurred. The fall in surplus reserves to the low level of the season happened to coincide with a slight disturbance in the speculative markets. Money loaned on demand, which had been ranging at four per cent or thereabouts, suddenly rose to the neighborhood of ten, and on one day of more than usual unsettlement it went to twenty.

This was a bid for floating European capital, and it promptly came. Not only did it come as a simple transfer from the easy foreign discount markets to the high money market of New York, but the situation caused a shifting of burdens on a larger scale. Bankers who had been "carrying" stocks in New York, with money borrowed here, found the high rates both expensive and inconvenient. They sounded the foreign money markets so as to learn whether the same stocks could not be carried abroad with money borrowed at lower rates in London. The plan was feasible; it was, in fact, a repetition of a plan already employed at similar junctures both in 1893 and 1895. So general was the resort to it last May that securities having a value reaching to many millions were actually shipped by the Transatlantic steamers during the month, with the result that in two weeks the loan account of the New York banks decreased more than $31,000,000. Incidentally, this replacement of New York advances with foreign capital had the result of breaking ster-

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ling exchange from the gold point to the actual par, so that apprehensions of loss of cash through immediate export gold withdrawals were removed.

While the high New York money rates attracted foreign capital on the one hand, they drew in credits from interior institutions on the other. Chicago, in particular, was an extremely heavy lender in New York. Thus, at the close of May the strain on the money markets was relieved, and the rate on call declined to three per cent. The situation was, however, left sufficiently perplexing, and there are several influences which can be cleared up only in the coming quarter. With continuing easy money at New York, the tendency of the trust companies would, of course, be to recall their loans and enlarge their deposits in the banks. This, as we have seen already, weakens the bank position as regards ratio of reserve. A somewhat similar situation would exist as regards both foreign and interior capital placed at the service of New York; with the added possibility of such revived activity on Europe's markets as should induce recall of the money loaned to New York bankers, and the certainty that in the harvest season in September the West will again need its own capital to move the crops.

It has been said that the credit fund in active use on the Eastern markets has not been reduced during the present season. One of the curious and extremely important inquiries of the period has been as to the use to which this fund has been applied. An answer to this question will pretty clearly show why the loan account, even when the money market showed a strain, has not been liquidated.

In the spring of 1901, there were two independent sources of demand on the money market: (1) syndicates which required immense supplies of credit to put through their extensive corporation "deals" and (2) the speculative public, which was carrying with borrowed money huge supplies of stocks which it meant to sell again. The panic of May 9 forced an immediate and wholesale cancelling of these loans to outside speculators. No similar account of such proportions seems to have existed during the present season. There have been speculative operations on a substantial scale on the Stock Exchange, but they have not been conducted by the mob of outside speculators which were the notable feature of last year. The attitude of the general public since the middle of 1901 has been wholly changed. The fever of speculation, checked by the crash of May, was almost entirely suppressed by the later incidents of the year, already enumerated. The course of events in the Northwestern railway episode, which caused the collapse of a

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year ago, and which is still an influence in the market, has had much to do both with driving the outside speculator back and with keeping at a maximum the demand for bank loans.

It is needless to review the series of incidents by which the two strong banking houses, which contested the ownership of the Northern Pacific Railway, and which between them held substantially all the $150,000,000 shares, reached an agreement. Last autumn's settlement was made, as every one knows, by the formation of the Northern Securities Company as a vehicle for holding the shares both of the Northern Pacific and of the Great Northern. This Securities Company issued its own shares in exchange. They were dealt in on the curb, between par and 112, though falling afterwards to par, and it was apparently the purpose of the banking houses to distribute them through the market to the general public.

The right of the Northern Securities Company to own the shares of a railway chartered and operated in Minnesota had been challenged by the law officers of that State. They had alleged that, as against a holding company with a New Jersey charter, they were powerless, and asked the help of the Federal Supreme Court. This help the Court denied, in February, on the ground that the State had not brought into court the Northern Pacific interests, which held a charter from the State, and whose company could be sued in the Minnesota courts. Before this decision was handed down, however, the Attorney-General of the United States had announced a suit against the Northern Securities, alleging real or potential restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890. The filing of this suit had the necessary effect of tying up the stock, apparently for a protracted period. The investor would not buy the shares with the corporation's validity assailed; and it followed that the banking interests who bought into Northern Pacific stock, and who did so, by common supposition, on the basis of money raised from banks, had to extend such loans.

This fact explained a part of the heavy and undiminished demand on banking credits. It was also evident that the pendency of the Securities suit, on the one hand, and the public attitude, on the other, kept in suspense a number of other and kindred undertakings, some of which rested similarly on banking credits. To the credit demand should be added, first, the borrowing operations of extensive underwriting syndicates; and, second, some very aggressive operations of large capitalists on the Stock Exchange. The last-named class of operations, while not parallel, in the precarious nature of the liabilities established, to the

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borrowings of a public outbreak of speculation, nevertheless was conducted through loans of credit institutions. The men behind such operations were of enormous wealth, but their wealth was invested in securities, and they naturally would not begin a movement to raise prices on the Stock Exchange by selling out what they held already. In such cases the alternative is to use for collateral such securities as are owned already, and borrow the capital required.

Stock Exchange movements conducted on such a basis have been of a striking character during the last few months. The volume of trading on the markets has, it is true, not averaged much more than half that of a year ago, when the facilities of the New York Stock Exchange broke down beneath the burden. But prices have fluctuated wildly, and many securities on the Stock Exchange have risen to valuations above the highest touched in 1901. In spite of the deadlock in the Northern Securities undertaking, competitive buying for control has again forced the prices of some stocks to abnormal figures. The notable incident of this chapter was the purchase, in open stock market, of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. An outright majority of this company's $52,000,000 stock was thus acquired by speculative operators, who, after nearly causing a corner in the market similar to the Northern Pacific episode of last year, made no attempt to enter publicly on control, but turned over the shares at a high valuation to a responsible banking house. Another and smaller railway, similarly bought up, was sold by its purchasers at an advance of fifty to 100 per cent; the price being paid in bonds guaranteed by two important companies.

There has been less this year of organization of largely capitalized industrial companies, so that demands on the money markets from such quarters have been lighter. This movement has been checked in part by the lessened appetite of the public, in part by the other large demands on the money market, and in part by unfortunate results in the case of companies already organized. The collapse of the shares in the copper combination did not help to draw back again the outside public. As will be shown later on in this review, other existing industrial companies have shared in the great prosperity of the times; but the question of proper valuation for their shares has in some cases become exceedingly confused. This was notably the fact with the singular episode on the "curb market" last May, when a bubble of speculation in shares of new and little-known industrial companies exploded with great violence. Stocks of a local transportation company selling below $1 per share were raised on this street market to $20½, and then

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dropped as suddenly to their old valuation. On the same market, shares of a land-improvement company and of a little-known Canadian railway enterprise, which had sold respectively at 88 and 118, collapsed in a tightening of the money market, and reached six and eleven, respectively. A company formed to hold and operate some locomotive properties, with $7,000,000 capital, commanded on the Stock Exchange 190 for its shares, on which it had started to pay dividends of ten per cent. The stock collapsed; the company's managers invited experts to overhaul the books; and after the accountants had made their report, the bid price of the shares declined to 45. It was quite impossible that such occurrences should be without effect.

Yet, such was the immense and sustained prosperity of the country, and so great the unwillingness of holders of sound securities to sell, that the general market faced these various facts with equanimity, and prices in general failed to yield. More than this, the creation of new securities did not cease. The most notable operation of the kind, not yet completed, was the formation of the so-called Shipping Trust, which, under the auspices of Mr. J. P. Morgan, announced in May its purpose to issue $170,000,000 capital, comprising $60,000,000 each in common and preferred stock and $50,000,000 in bonds. With the stock and the cash proceeds of the bonds, the control of the White Star, Dominion, Atlantic Transport, and American lines was to be bought outright; while contracts with guarantee of dividends, counterbalanced by pledges of operating policy by the owners, were ratified with the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American companies. It is too early, at this writing, to analyze the probable influence of this important operation on securities or the money markets.

The familiar tradition of the financial markets that, as the iron trade goes, so goes prosperity in general, has made the course of that market during 1902 absorbingly interesting. Up to the date of writing there has been actually no check to this extraordinary activity. Production, which had already in 1901 reached the highest point in the history of the country, has continued to expand. Mills which went out of work, as occasionally happened, did so only because the wear and tear of incessant production had made repairs inevitable. The temporary withdrawal of such producers from the market was much more than made good by the opening of new mills, the extension of facilities for those already operated, and the resumption of work at long-abandoned furnaces which could not turn out iron at a profit unless at

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exceptional levels of demand and prices. The volume of this movement may be judged from the following figures of weekly output reported on the first of each successive month of 1902, compared with the corresponding date one and two years ago:

	1902—Tons.	1901—Tons.	1900—Tons.
January	298,460	250,351	294,186
February	332,045	278,258	298,014
March	323,028	292,899	292,643
April	337,424	296,676	289,482
May	352,064	301,125	293,850

There have been times in the country's industrial history when such an immense stimulus of production was a sign of mere speculation. Such a period was 1895, when the increased output of the iron foundries merely resulted in piling up quantities of unsold iron at the yards. Nothing of the sort has occurred up to this time in 1902. On the contrary, furnace supplies on hand, as reported to the trade associations, decreased from 218,084 tons, on December 31, to 154,200 at the end of January, and 125,348 at the end of February, and by the opening of May were down to 83,859, representing the merest trifle in the existing consumption of the country. More than this, all advices of the trade have united in testifying that the iron taken from the mills was directly and instantly utilized for industrial purposes. The real phenomenon of the period, in fact, has been not so much the immense increase in iron production as the fact that, in the face of this enormous increase, steel mills in want of raw material, railways in urgent need of rails, and builders with contracts for iron structures were wholly unable to obtain supplies at the date required. By the close of April it was a matter of common knowledge in the trade that most of the mills had contracted ahead for their output up to the middle of 1903. At one time during the month of March the impossibility of satisfying such a demand led to sudden recourse to the iron foundries and steel mills in Germany and Scotland. During the month of March, our import trade in iron and steel showed such increase over 1901 as $955,000; in April, the increase was $1,024,000—imports of steel bars and billets running 25,872,000 pounds beyond the same month in 1901.

With such conditions existing in the trade, it was only natural that the United States Steel Corporation, representing something like seventy per cent of the output of the American iron trade, should have been able to report huge profits. As a consequence of the very wise policy adopted by the directors a year ago, monthly earnings are given out at the end of

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every quarter, and it is thus possible to see what the tangible results of the season's trade have been. In the case of the Steel Corporation these results have been very extraordinary. By months, the showing is as follows for the first full fiscal year, net earnings only being stated:

April, 1901	$7,356,744	October, 1901	$12,205,774
May, 1901	9,613,349	November, 1901	9,795,841
June, 1901	9,394,747	December, 1901	7,758,298
July, 1901	9,580,151	January, 1902	8,901,016
August, 1901	9,810,880	February, 1902	7,678,583
September, 1901	9,272,812	March, 1902	9,700,000

It was on top of these remarkable exhibits of earning capacity and power that the Steel Corporation, early in the season, surprised the investment public by announcing its purpose to convert its capital, and to do so by turning $200,000,000 of its preferred stock into bonds. The question of this conversion has been hotly debated, since it was first proposed in February, throughout both home and foreign financial circles. It will be wisest here to recite the arguments for and against the action, and to endeavor to state the probable reasons why so surprising a policy was adopted. The one plausible reason advanced for turning this share capital into mortgage bonds lay in the fact that the preferred stock carried a seven per cent cumulative dividend. If unprofitable years were to follow in the trade, and dividends on both classes of stock were to be suspended, the seven per cent unpaid during any year would heap up as a contingent liability against the company. Nothing more could be paid in dividends on the common stock until the preferred had received not only its seven per cent for the current year, but the full amount up to seven per cent annually which had not been paid in the years preceding.

It is pretty well recognized, in well-posted circles of corporate finance, that this cumulative dividend device is most unfortunate. In the case of the Steel Corporation, it possibly was adopted as a necessary means to floating the shares in question. However this may be, there was legitimate ground for arguing that if the cumulative charge could be got rid of, it ought to be done. In the directors' statement on the matter two further points were forcibly advanced: (1) that conversion of a seven per cent preferred stock into a five per cent bond would save two per cent annually on the $200,000,000 in question; and (2) that, the company's assets and earning power being what they were, it was entirely safe to incur such a mortgage liability.

The answer of people who criticised the plan adversely was such as would naturally suggest itself. It was reasoned that, whether cumula-

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tive or not, the dividend on the preferred stock was contingent; that in the possible event of trade stagnation or adversity, it could be passed without any harm to the actual credit of the corporation; whereas the turning of these shares into funded debt, even with an interest rate as low as five per cent, necessarily created $200,000,000 liabilities on which the interest must be perpetually met. It is not necessary to go further into the analysis of the arguments on this question. On May 19 the stock-conversion plan was approved at a meeting of the company by a vote of 7,694,288 shares to 12,540.

Even before the present commercial season had fairly opened, it was admitted, with striking unanimity, that the year's financial outcome must depend, to a very unusual degree, on the yield of this country's crops. It is true, of course, that a financial situation can be at no time wholly free from influences of this sort. But it has grown this year into almost the recognized commonplace of financial prediction. Few forecasts are made, among home or foreign experts, regarding the future movement of American prosperity which do not qualify their words by such a reference to the harvests. Naturally, therefore, the agricultural markets and the course of events in the grain-producing districts have been watched with peculiar interest.

The only crop regarding which prospects are now determined with actual certainty is the early planted wheat. The earliest estimate by the Department of Agriculture, as to the planted area in the winter wheat belt, figured out 32,000,000 acres, against 28,267,000 in the same crop of 1901. From farm returns on April 1, the Department reported the "percentage condition" of the growing winter wheat to be 78.7. This compared with an April estimate as high as 91.7 a year before, and with an average April 1 condition of 82.4 in the previous ten years. Clearly, the early wheat crop had not fared as well as usual. The grain markets, however, figured out that the largely increased acreage, as compared with a year ago, would nearly offset the poorer average prospect of the crop. Produce Exchange statisticians worked out, from the Government's estimates, an indicated winter wheat crop of something like 410,000,000 bushels, as against a supposed yield of 412,000,000 to 415,000,000 bushels in the year 1901.

These hopes were dissipated during April. A very unusual period of drought and hot winds prevailed for at least three weeks throughout the winter-wheat belt. Its effect on the crop, whose start, owing to the similar drought of 1901, had been somewhat impaired, was immediate

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and serious. The Government's estimate of the crop on May 1 was not greatly reduced, so far as regards "condition percentages." This average was cut down only from 78.7 to 76.4. But the drought of April had its real effect on the acreage estimate. The May report showed no less than fifteen per cent of the planted acreage abandoned because of drought; the total area ruined by the drought being 4,868,000 acres, of which Kansas alone lost 1,835,000. This loss resulted, of course, in a wholesale scaling-down of the estimates of yield; the computation of the Produce Exchange from the figures being an indicated total winter crop of 341,000,000 bushels. This, it will be observed, amounts to a reduction of 62,000,000 bushels from the estimated winter yield of 1901.

Fortunately for the general situation, the April drought ended before its destruction had gone to any more serious extreme. It was followed by very favorable weather, so that the worst of the situation in the winter crop may be said to be fairly known and discounted. Meantime, early advices from the crops which reach their harvest in midsummer continued altogether favorable; and the price of wheat, in spite of the smaller winter crop, failed during April and May to reach its high level of the early weeks of January. In June, though the "condition estimate" on winter wheat was not raised, the spring crop was figured out at 95⅞, the highest average since the great crop of 1898.

With corn, the market's course was somewhat different. The striking contrast between the yield of wheat and corn in 1901 has been shown by the export movement during the last few months. These are the figures, both for wheat and corn, compared with previous years:

WHEAT EXPORTS.

	1902—Bushels.	1901—Bushels.	1900—Bushels.
February	5,836,299	7,703,351	6,414,923
March	8,945,050	11,573,666	6,482,860
April	10,726,582	13,907,466	7,407,394

CORN EXPORTS.

	1902—Bushels.	1901—Bushels.	1900—Bushels.
February	1,272,830	16,900,726	15,375,363
March	1,223,365	13,504,403	14,535,201
April	1,159,783	10,172,830	15,720,333

These comparisons give some notion why, at the end of May, the price of wheat ruled six cents per bushel above the price of a year

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before, while corn sold twenty-one cents per bushel higher; touching in the final week of May the highest price since the crop of last year fell short, and the highest in nearly a generation. As a passing incident, this extreme high price of corn must be kept in mind as a factor in the price of beef and hog products. Whether or not the so-called "Beef Trust" had a hand in the high price of animal food this year, the extreme advance in fodder played a substantial and unmistakable part.

Secretary Gage, who had for some months been contemplating retirement from the Treasury, withdrew from office during February. Ex-Governor Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa, who succeeded him, brought in general no change of policy to the Department. In one regard, however, he may be said to have reversed the policy of his predecessor. On at least five occasions Mr. Gage had been confronted with heavy withdrawals of cash from the money market by the Treasury, at a moment when that market was disordered and not able to bear the strain. When these two conditions coincide, a finance minister is left practically without alternative. The pressure of financial opinion, and of public opinion generally, is so strong that he is compelled to take the quickest means of giving relief. This has almost always been the redemption of government bonds at such prices as will open the strong boxes of investors.

This expedient was practised on an exceedingly large scale by Mr. Windom and Mr. Foster during the days of excessive Treasury surplus from 1887 to 1892. The largest holders of government bonds at that time, as at the present juncture, were the national banks. The banks, as a rule, could not surrender their bonds without also surrendering the note circulation based upon them. But the inducement was so great, owing to the price which the Treasury was compelled to bid, that all objections regarding a low circulation were superseded. In the five above-named years, $140,000,000 bank notes were retired. Between October 31, 1901, and June 1, 1902, the outstanding bank-note circulation based on bonds was reduced from $328,198,614 to $313,609,837.

Until well on in 1901, demand for new money circulation in this country had been so great that outstanding notes increased in volume, even in face of the heavy bond redemptions. During the calendar year 1899 upward of $96,000,000 was added to the circulation, and there was no month of the period which did not show an increase. During the first nine months of the year 1901 there was a further increase of $18,500,000. At the close of September, last year, a sudden change took place. It was at that time that Mr. Gage's bond redemptions

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became very heavy as a result of the demoralized money market. At the same time the price of government bonds reached the highest figures of the period. Between the opening of September and the close of 1901, the Treasury bought in $39,361,000 bonds, and $11,000,000 of the circulation based on deposited Government securities was withdrawn. This movement has continued during the present year. In January, $4,228,975 bank notes were retired; in February, $3,274,577; in March, $3,704,117; in April, $4,442,970; and in May, $3,487,825.

The dilemma of the Treasury was plain. If it were to continue buying up its own bonds, it was manifest that it would now merely repeat the operation by which the Secretaries of ten or twelve years ago contracted interior circulation. The upshot was a radical change in policy. The Secretary revoked the orders for bond redemption, and devoted himself merely to such minor expedients as a moderate increase in the government deposits with the banks. Even when money was ruling at twenty per cent in Wall Street, in the early weeks of May, the Treasury offered no relief. It has been Mr. Shaw's purpose to abandon this policy entirely until the reduction in revenues, which is to go into effect on July 1, shall make such relief no longer necessary.

As a matter of fact, the Treasury has been helped in its purpose by a decrease in the monthly excess of public revenue during the last few months. The cause of the unexpectedly large surplus in the autumn of 1901, the results of which we have already seen, was not an excessive revenue, but a sudden fall in expenditure, resulting almost wholly from decreased military outlay. In the spring of the present year, Congress adopted a second revenue-reduction law, through which a cut of $70,000,000 in the year's receipts is figured out as possible. Since the public surplus for the fiscal year 1901 was reported by Secretary Gage as $77,717,984, it will be seen that this alteration in the revenue may have important consequences later on. The reduction in the taxes goes into effect on July 1 of this year, and concerns internal revenue. But the striking fact is that the monthly surplus has begun to fall, even before the cut in taxes. During the five months ending last May, receipts from internal revenue were smaller by $18,000,000 than in the same months of 1901.

During the same period there was a $5,600,000 increase in customs revenue, resulting, as will be shown, from the larger imports of dutiable merchandise. This increase in dutiable imports since the opening of 1902 has been one of the notable phenomena of the time. How continuous this movement had been before 1902 began may be judged from

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the fact that in 1898 the country's import of merchandise amounted to $634,964,000, in 1899 to $798,967,000, in 1900 to $829,149,000, and in 1901 to $880,405,000. Here was an increase of $51,000,000 in a single year.

With the beginning of 1902 it was evident that this movement was increasing. Imports in January ran $10,000,000 beyond the year before; in February the increase was nearly $4,000,000; in March it exceeded $8,000,000. Most of this increase was in raw material for manufacture, and it was hence a witness chiefly to the country's industrial activity. Nevertheless, it had its effect on the one side on the customs revenue, and on the other in the foreign exchange market.

So far as regards the movement of the export trade, the interesting fact of the season has been that, notwithstanding the very large decrease in cereals, in which last season's crops were deficient, the total outward movement has not greatly decreased from 1901. Shipment of cereals alone showed a decrease of $11,000,000 in January, $11,000,000 in February, $9,000,000 in March, and $10,000,000 in April; indicating that the crop shortage of 1901 was mainly responsible for the falling-off in exports. In a way this was encouraging, because it suggested that, with abundant crops in 1902, the shrinkage would be made good. As a matter of fact, even while the export trade as a whole made so poor comparisons in the first part of the current year, manufactured exports, which had been decreasing only a few months since, showed material increase.

The recovery since the beginning of 1902 was especially marked. This increase was due, however, almost exclusively to a single circumstance. The sequel to the dramatic episode in the copper market, towards the close of 1901, had been a complete reversal of the policy of the Amalgamated Company toward the market. As against the plan of holding copper prices, as was done a year ago, in the neighborhood of seventeen cents a pound — even in the face of rival companies which were willing to sell at a lower price — there was substituted very free offering of copper supplies in the neighborhood of twelve. The consequence was that copper exports, which last year fell to the smallest total in at least three years, grew during 1902 to figures rarely paralleled in the market's history. In January there was an increase, as compared with 1901, of 4,200 tons; in February, one of 9,400; in March, of 13,700; and in April, of 15,900. In three of these months a total increase of not quite $9,000,000 in manufactured exports was made up, for the greater part, of $6,000,000 in the copper shipments. The rest

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was almost entirely a result of the increased shipment of cotton manufactures since the reopening of China's ports; the gain in this trade, during the four months ending April 30, being $5,500,000.

No review of this period could be in any way complete which did not take account of the movement on England's markets. It should be recalled that in the closing weeks of 1901 financial confidence reached a low ebb in London. Consols sold at the price of 91, as compared with 114 barely three years before; the low price being lower than any reached in the present generation. Even the acute spasm of the Baring panic in 1890 brought consols to no lower a figure than 93½. At the same time, the prices of English railway shares, discouraged by the reports of decreasing traffic and increasing expenses, fell to the low level of the period. Shares of the Transvaal gold mines were in stronger hands; but they, too, generally touched the low level of 1901.

It was at precisely this period that sudden and aggressive buying began on the London market; and it was highly significant that this buying originated not with the British public, but with capitalists of the European continent and New York. Starting as a purely speculative movement, this buying presently developed to very large proportions. At first it did not greatly affect the price of consols, for the reason that another British Government loan was even then impending. But it brought the price of African gold-mine shares not only to higher figures than any reached in 1901, but in many cases to a level above the prices reached in the year before the war.

This movement did not appear to have its basis in any distinct expectations regarding the conclusion of the war. In fact, news from Cape Colony, while the advance was going on, was hardly favorable. The one tangible ground which existed in the current news lay in the resumption of mining in the Transvaal. As recently as November, 1901, the gold production on the Witwatersrandt reached only 39,075 ounces, valued at something like $800,000. In December the total output was only 52,897 ounces. From this figure, however, the total rose to 70,340 ounces in January; 81,405 in February; 104,127 in March; 119,588 in April; and finally 140,000 in May. During the first four months of 1901 there had been received in England from South Africa not more than $881,000 gold. During the same months of the present year receipts were $6,738,000.

The upward movement on the British markets came to a sudden halt when news from the front grew somewhat more unfavorable, when

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it began to be realized that prices for mine shares, even supposing returns to the production of three years ago, were comparatively high, and when foreign capitalists began to take their profits. At the same time the date approached when the British Government would have to make its arrangements to meet the deficit of the year. Estimates based upon the Exchequer figures placed the total cost of the Boer war at no less than $1,200,000,000. The greater part of the enormous annual expense had been met by increased taxes; but $570,000,000, or not quite one-half, had been paid for by loans raised by the British Government. It was certain that a new loan of from twenty to forty millions sterling would be required with the budget estimates of April.

The loan was issued during April at the very low price of 93½, and one-half of the issue was placed privately with banking houses before public subscriptions were invited. A matter of more than passing interest was the extent to which subscriptions were invited from America. This, to be sure, was not a new procedure. Out of the $150,000,000 British war loan of 1900, subscribers in this country took $28,000,000; of the $300,000,000 consols loan of 1901, they took $50,000,000. The $160,000,000 loaned this year was placed to the extent of $25,000,000 with New York houses. This part of the operations has been so extraordinary in the investment history of Great Britain as to mark out a most unusual situation, with a remarkable sequel.

One of the incidents of the recent months, which would have possessed a peculiar economic interest a few years since, but which this year passed almost unnoticed outside of a narrow market circle, was the fall in silver to the lowest price on record. On July 1 of last year silver bullion sold in London at 27¼ pence per ounce. After that time its decline was gradual, until the early months of the current year. In April this decline became extremely rapid, touching on April 21 the world's low record, $23\frac{5}{16}$. One striking inference has been drawn from the comparison. Silver has been long associated, in the mind of one school of economic critics, with the rise and fall of prices of commodities. Since 1896 the two have parted company. At the opening of that year, silver bullion was quoted in London at 30½ pence per ounce, wheat in New York at 66 cents per bushel, and the London "Economist's" index number of commodity prices figured out 1,999. With the opening of 1900 the price of silver was 27¼ pence, wheat sold at 74½, and the index number had risen to 2,145. On April 21, when silver touched its low level of $23\frac{5}{16}$, wheat had risen to 91, and the index number held at 1,983.

A. D. NOYES.

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APPLIED SCIENCE.

THE past few months have been busy ones in those departments of applied science which come within the scope of engineering. Indeed, the daily widening of that scope is bringing within its limits many things which were formerly considered altogether beyond the province of the engineer. So, too, it is impossible to discuss the progress of applied science within definite time limits. The subjects overlap each other and are interwoven to such an extent as to render it necessary to make any review such as the present rather elastic in its boundaries.

Although it is more than a hundred years since the first "Montgolfier" made its initial ascent, the problem of navigating the air is still unsolved; and there is every reason to believe that it will not be solved by any startling invention, but rather by the general progress of engineering development, carrying this undertaking and many others along with it. At the same time, the subject of aeronautics has attracted much attention very recently, for reasons which will readily appear. Aerial navigation demands the combination of two elements — one the sustaining, the other the propelling power. The former may act through buoyancy — a balloon, or through the supporting action of extended surfaces — an aeroplane; but the success of the latter has long been understood to depend upon the production of some light and powerful motor. Curiously enough, the motors which have rendered possible the recent dirigible balloons of M. Santos-Dumont and others were originally devised for land propulsion — for use on automobiles — and the reduction in weight which has been attained for motor vehicles on the surface of the earth is the real cause for the renewed attention which has been given to the dirigible balloon. The reduction in weight secured by the use of the gasoline motor will be seen from the following data.

The experiments of M. Tissandier in 1883 with a balloon equipped with a propeller driven by a primary battery and electric motor showed a weight of 150 pounds per horse-power, altogether too great to be practicable. Renard & Krebs, in 1884, succeeded in reducing the motor weight to fifty-five pounds per horse-power, and thus were able to carry

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nine horse-power in their balloon, "La France," and to drive it over a determinate path at a speed of fourteen miles an hour. M. Santos-Dumont, however, has been able to secure gasoline motors weighing twelve pounds only per horse-power; and with a motor of eighteen horse-power he has attained speeds of eighteen to twenty miles per hour.

The weight of motors can be still further reduced for larger powers. Builders of gasoline engines have designed motors of fifty horse-power weighing but eleven pounds per horse-power, and of 100 horse-power weighing only 6.6 pounds per horse-power.

Lord Kelvin recently expressed himself as of the opinion that all this experimenting with dirigible balloons will lead to nothing; and, with the exception of the stimulus given to the reduction of motor weight, this is probably correct. The aeroplane offers far greater useful possibilities, but the immediate results cannot be so showy. In this connection attention may be called to the continuation of the experiments of the lamented Lilienthal in sailing flight by the brothers Wright, in North Carolina. By devoting especial attention to the question of balancing, including the placing of the operator in a horizontal position, the practical management of the sailing aeroplane has been materially advanced; and it is to the combination of some such apparatus with an exceedingly light and powerful motor that we may look for real progress in the conquest of the air. Accidents, such as that which caused the death of Severo, in Paris, need not discourage experiment, but should serve only to emphasize the necessity for caution in design and operation.

The exhibition of motor-boats at Berlin exemplifies the development of small, light motors other than steam. Indeed, the rapid progress of the internal combustion motor generally is a matter for interested observation. This is especially true in connection with the continued exploitation of petroleum districts; and, with the efforts which are being made to introduce fuel oil, the use of various forms of motors in which it may be burned is to be expected. In addition to the Texas oil fields, the borings for oil in the Dutch East Indies are progressing, with good results, especially in the residency of Rembang, in Java. A number of years ago the introduction of fuel oil on American railways was retarded by an announcement, more or less official, from one of the great roads, that the fuel consumption of its engines alone would be sufficient to advance the market price. Since then the development of new fields has greatly increased the output, while improved methods of combustion have

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increased the efficiency; so that the situation is somewhat modified, and may be even more so in the closely approaching future.

Closely allied to the question of petroleum, from an engineering point of view, is that of the development of existing and newly exploited coal fields. The continual drain on the coal districts of Great Britain has drawn attention to the influence of fuel supply upon commercial and manufacturing supremacy. Apprehensions as to the ultimate exhaustion of the coal supply of the world are entirely premature; and, indeed, it has been pointed out that the world's supply of free oxygen may possibly be exhausted before its fuel gives out. The development of the coal supply, however, will inevitably cause more or less shifting of industrial centres, and the possession of the most accessible and valuable coal districts may determine the fate of nations. The control of the Pacific must be largely a question of coal resources; and in this connection the exploiting of the enormous coal deposits of Alaska, situated as they are on the great-circle route between Puget Sound and Japan, is a matter of present importance.

The engineering value of fuel is dependent not only on advantageous mining, but also upon the development of efficient methods of use. While it is eminently unsafe to predict the limitations of any line of scientific progress, yet the improvement of the steam-engine may confidently be expected to proceed along the lines of least resistance. The most careful analysis of the causes of loss in the steam-engine has shown the greatest to be that of condensation in the cylinder. Of the various methods of reducing this loss the use of multiple cylinders, reheaters, steam jackets, etc., appears to have been carried to a practical limit.

Hence we have a revival, with all the advantages of modern constructive methods, of the practice of superheating the steam before it enters the cylinder to such a degree as to permit a high expansion ratio with greatly diminished internal condensation. The most recent results in this direction have been very gratifying; a horse-power having been obtained with as low an expenditure as 8.6 pounds of coal per hour. Constructive and operative difficulties are naturally encountered in working with steam heated from 400 to 500 degrees above the temperature due to its pressure, and engines for use with a working fluid at such temperatures should be built especially for the service. Sliding and Corliss valves give place to lift valves; metallic packings of special construction become necessary; and ample provision must be made for the prevention of distortion from unequal expansion. These facts have

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led to a realization of the adaptability of the steam turbine for use with superheated steam. The freedom from rubbing surfaces and close fits to be affected by the high temperatures, and the absence of a lubricant to be carbonized by the heat make the turbine particularly suited for operation under conditions extremely difficult to meet with reciprocating engines. Recent tests in Germany have demonstrated the entire practicability of using steam turbines to obtain the manifest economy due to superheating.

Another feature of recent investigation in steam-engine design and operation is that of speed regulation. Formerly the requirements as to uniformity of speed were based upon the maintenance of a determinate number of revolutions per minute; and if the variation was not more than two or three per cent from normal the regulation was considered satisfactory. With the introduction of the system of operating alternating electric generators in parallel, however, the imperative condition is the maintenance of a nearly uniform angular velocity during the entire course of each revolution; a requirement especially difficult of attainment when it is remembered that the action of the steam upon the piston as transmitted to the crank is both intermittent and variable. Some interesting investigations into this subject have been made both in Europe and America. Thus, in France, M. David has employed a vibrating tuning-fork to trace upon a revolving disc on the engine shaft undulations representing equal intervals of time during a revolution; and a comparison of these with equal-spaced divisions on the disc enables the variations in angular velocity at any point of the revolution to be seen. In the light of information gained by these and similar investigations, it has been found possible to add damping devices to the engine governors in such a manner as materially to reduce the angular variations in any one revolution, and at the same time maintain a satisfactory general speed regulation.

In the course of the development of marine engineering some interesting features may be noted. Two disasters have served to emphasize the great advantages of twin-screw propulsion. The total disabling of the "Etruria" and her long and tedious tow have undoubtedly decided the fate of the single screw; while the loss of the rudder of the "Deutschland" and the successful manner in which she was controlled by the skilful use of the twin screws emphasized still more the advantages of the divided propulsion. There appears to be little doubt that the single screw is doomed, at least for Transatlantic express service.

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Of the economic questions connected with the merger of the Atlantic steamship lines, this is not the place to speak. At the same time the possible suppression of competition may have a bearing upon the construction of record-breaking vessels, and tend rather to encourage the building of large and comfortable ships, of fairly good speed and profitable capacity. The tendency toward extreme speeds, attained only by excessively high powering, and to gorgeous and elaborate decoration, often in questionable taste, has been the result of striving for business in the strong competition of rival lines. Already marine architects are giving greater attention to comfort than to excessive display; wisely realizing that convenient accommodations below appeal strongly to the many passengers who must spend the greater part of their time in their cabins. Thus, the so-called "tandem" staterooms, in which an L-shaped construction gives the inside rooms access to portholes in the ship's side, are an evidence of practical engineering design in a welcome form.

The increase in the size of steamships appears to continue, governed only by the port limitations as to harbor draught and docking facilities. It is more than probable that these conditions, rather than existing commercial arrangements, may control the establishment of termini, the united action of steamship lines and railway companies being final in these respects.

Closely connected with engineering in the merchant marine comes the question of the agitation for reform in the position of engineers in the navy. In the United States the benefits intended to be gained by the enactment of the Personnel Bill have been almost entirely lost by a lack in executing the spirit of the act. The intention was to realize the terse statement of Mr. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy: "Every officer on a modern war vessel has to be a fighting engineer." The failure to execute the law in this spirit has resulted in depriving the service of many of its ablest engineers, without replacing them by competent or suitable men. The mechanical work is now largely performed by warrant machinists, and the result cannot be gratifying to the nation or beneficial to the service.

In the British navy a similar state of affairs exists, except that legislation has not yet been reached. In that navy, however, one observes the same shortage of engineers, the same increase in engineering requirements, and the same disposition to relegate engineering responsibilities to machine-shop artificers. The whole matter is the result of the unwillingness of the line and executive officers to realize — what every one else has long ago known — that changed conditions have rendered their

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calling practically obsolete in its old form. Fighting, both at sea and on land, must henceforth be performed mainly by engineering methods, and it is inevitable that the control of warfare must fall into the hands of the engineering profession. There is good reason to believe that the idea of a "Great War Syndicate," humorously imagined by the late Frank R. Stockton, may become a reality in the main, if not in detail.

In civil practice, at least in America, conservatism has less opportunity than in government affairs. The transformation in methods and appliances — a revolution which, peaceful in its nature though it be, is altering the whole conduct of the civilized world — continues with increasing power. In mechanical engineering, at least, there is no lack of perception of the reality of the change. The skilled mechanic is daily becoming of less importance as regards numbers or wages, and of more importance as regards intelligence and ability. Skilled workmen at the machines are becoming less and less necessary, so far as the accuracy of the product is concerned, while the output has been vastly increased in proportion to the labor employed.

The modern system of using limit gauges for the inspection of material and for the determination of finished dimensions has rendered the old skill of the machinist with scales and calipers almost unnecessary at the tools. The introduction of improved tool steels, permitting far heavier cuts and higher cutting speeds than formerly, has increased many times the earning capacity of existing machine tools; while the independent determination of the maximum product of each machine in the minimum period of time has in many establishments rendered the determination of labor cost a matter practically independent of the machine tender himself.

The result of all this has been to remove much of the difference in the labor cost of manufactured articles in different countries, rendering the question of wages a minor one in international competition. At the present time the United States is able to compete successfully with countries in which far lower wage rates prevail; the controlling question being not the daily wage of the man, but the wage cost of the articles. When it is realized that until recently the non-productive charges in manufacturing establishments equalled the productive labor charges, it will be seen how important it has become to increase the output to the maximum, in order that the proportion of expense charge to be borne by each manufactured article may become a minimum. These questions have been receiving constantly increased attention of late,

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and the influence of engineering upon economics is daily becoming greater.

In another sense, also, is the engineer becoming influential in international economy. Under the old theories of political economy the operation of natural laws was assumed to be unquestionable, and the deductions logically made from such assumptions were held to be absolute and final. Within the last few months it has been shown, however, that individuals may command, in a manner altogether arbitrary, engineering resources controlling transport, production, and even consumption. The heads of governments are in some instances shown to be powerless, as in the case of the merger of the Atlantic steamship lines; and in numerous matters of commerce, trade, and industry the influence of engineering considerations is predominant.

An example of the possible dislocation of existing commercial matters is seen in the manner in which the substitution of electricity for steam for main-line railway traction is regarded. In nearly every instance the question is considered not merely as a technical problem, but as an economic one. In other words, what is discussed is not the cost of installing the new system so much as the enormous sum involved in the throwing away of the old one. The magnitude of the question is seen when it is stated that M. Sauvage, one of the best railway authorities in Europe, estimates that there are at present in operation about 140,000 steam locomotives, valued, at a low estimate, at $1,000,000,000! The advantages of electric traction must be demonstrated to be great indeed in order to warrant the "scrapping" of such a mass of operative machinery. Here, again, a question of engineering economics enters. The cost of motive power in railway service is estimated at about forty per cent and of labor at sixty per cent, and on this basis the influence of any economy in motive power would be less than one-half that which would appear from a direct comparison of fuel costs. When it is considered, however, that the operating expenses practically equal the labor cost, it will be seen that the item of fuel is really only about twenty-five per cent of the total cost. This means that even if electric traction were capable of saving one-half the fuel now required for steam locomotive traction, an altogether unwarranted assumption, the economy in total expense would be but twelve per cent.

As a matter of fact, the most recent experience indicates that electric traction will enter as an auxiliary to the steam locomotive, that it will be used for suburban and local traffic, while powerful steam loco-

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motives will retain their preëminence for hauling heavy through trains of high speed. The transition will thus come gradually; the steam locomotives being "scrapped" as they are superannuated, and improved methods gradually replacing them. The same economic considerations apply to the performance of steam locomotives of various kinds. In the comparison between English and American locomotives in Egypt, the report recently made to Lord Cromer shows that the American engines consumed more fuel than those of British make. When the relative importance of fuel consumption to general expense is considered, as shown above, the impossibility of drawing any instructive conclusions can be realized. Engines proportioned for hauling maximum loads are built for capacity, rather than for fuel economy; and when maximum train loads are not provided the fuel economy naturally fails to appear. In the question of British versus American locomotives the pertinent question has been asked, and as yet remains unanswered: "If British engines are so greatly superior in performance to American ones, why does it cost about four times as much to haul a ton of freight in England as it does in America?"

Among the modifications in social matters due to engineering influence may be mentioned a suggestion which yet has to be converted into a reality. The overcrowding of cities has grown to be a serious question, and the means which have been thus far taken to remedy some of the evils of the congestion have not been very effective. Nearly all the efforts have been in the direction of better internal transport. More electric street railways, underground railways, etc., etc., have been undertaken; while, as a matter of fact, such increased facilities serve only to attract more people to a metropolis, thus directly encouraging an increase in the congestion intended to be relieved. Properly devised applications of electric traction, not to make it more convenient to stay in the city but to render it easier to get out of it, would check the congestion by encouraging suburban residence not only for the well-to-do, but for those who seek, in the bustle and glare of a metropolis, a relief from the dulness and monotony of the small town. If the heart of a great city, with all its attractions at night, were quickly, cheaply, and comfortably reached from many neighboring small towns, the tendency to flock to the city as a permanent place of residence and occupation would be checked and the population distributed. Such is the theory, and it will undoubtedly soon be put to the test of practice.

The question of local transport is one which, like the poor, is always

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with us; but it becomes more pressing in some localities than in others. There is probably more congestion on the Brooklyn Bridge during the crush hours than at almost any other place which could be named, and numerous propositions have been made with respect to its relief. Of these one of the most promising is that of an adaptation of the so-called travelling sidewalk, which has been suggested very recently by the chief engineer, and which, it is to be hoped, will be put into execution. The experience at the Paris Exposition of 1900 demonstrated the entire practicability of the system, and the enormous capacity of such a continuous means of transport was there especially made clear. The continuity of the movement renders the device capable of absorbing the flow of people as rapidly as they present themselves, and local crowding at any point can be at once relieved by a few steps, without delay. The serious proposition to introduce such a travelling platform in a subway under the Grands Boulevards in Paris is another indication of the appreciation of the system. There is little doubt that the true remedy for local congestion in cities is to be found in the use of continuously moving means of transport, even if over short distances only, the essential feature being the avoidance of stoppage in the contracted section.

An interesting landmark of industrial and engineering progress of current importance is the Düsseldorf Exposition, which was most successfully opened on May 1. Successful is, indeed, the word to apply to the opening of the exposition, since the grounds, buildings, and exhibits were ready on the opening day — a marked exception to the opening days of previous expositions, so far as the records go. Being devoted to the Rhenish-Westphalian industries, the display is largely metallurgical, the iron and steel works of Rhenish Prussia being most conspicuous. The latest developments in the generation and application of steam power are shown; including the use of superheated steam, central condensation, and direct-connected electric generating sets. Electric and hydraulic driving are conspicuous, and the products of such establishments as Krupp's, the Gutehoffnungshütte, the Bochum Works, and others are prominent.

Expositions are always considered as important educational influences, and this is especially true as regards scientific education. The entire matter of technical education is acquiring much prominence at the present time in connection with the development of engineering progress. In Great Britain, especially, agitation is being made for more thorough practical training as a necessity to enable England to maintain

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her industrial position. In this connection the development of the mechanical laboratory as a means of training and research is noteworthy. The practical study of mathematics is also being constantly urged, as contrasted with the scholastic methods generally in vogue; and the discussion by Dr. Perry at the recent meeting of the British Association has attracted special attention.

The necessity for the establishment of bureaus of standards is now fully admitted; and the recent opening of the bureau at Washington renders it probable that ultimately there will be in the United States an equipment and force comparable with that of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures at Breteuil. The work of MM. Benoit and Guillaume, at the latter place, upon the determination of the true values of the metre and the kilogramme, is an excellent example of the value and importance of such establishments.

The recent attempts to procure additional legislation in connection with the introduction of the metric system into the United States calls attention at this time to the system itself. The authority of Congress to compel the adoption of any system by the public has been questioned; but it is now clearly understood that the present effort is to render the use of the system compulsory for government work only. Even in this matter the surveys of government lands are excepted, which in itself is a frank admission of unwillingness to make a change when it involves any serious disturbance of records and boundaries. The popularity of the metric system appears to be mainly confined to students, professors, laboratory workers, computers, and those whose relation to the commercial and manufacturing questions is more or less remote. The great engineering establishments have in their gauges, templates, standards, and dies, a capital not unlike the stored labor involved in the government surveys of public lands; and the same arguments which permit the exclusion of the Land Office from metric legislation might well be applied to the great industrial establishments of the country. If the engineering progress of the United States continues, it does not follow that she should adopt the metric system just because France, Germany, and a number of small countries of no engineering importance have done so. The technical preponderance of the English-speaking race will enable it to carry with it to all parts of the industrial world, without special legislation, any system of metrology it may see fit to devise; and there is no reason why American and English engineers should not decide upon a system

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suitable to existing methods while free from their inconveniences, and deliberately overrule the attempts to force the metric system into American workshops.

With the general use of automatic machinery, and with the enactment of employers' liability legislation, there has come renewed attention to devices for the prevention of accidents to workmen. In many instances this has led to modifications in the original designs; gear wheels being enclosed in casings and moving parts protected as far as practicable. The use of electric driving has permitted gearing, belting, and shafting to be avoided to a great extent, and has thus removed a frequent source of danger. Indeed, there is little doubt that the dangers from electric transmission are less serious than those of the mechanical forms of transmission which they replace.

The subject of the electrical transmission of power continues to attract attention; and, in locations in which the high cost of fuel warrants, long-distance transmissions have been installed for regular service over more than 100 miles from the hydro-electric generating station. Pressures as high as 50,000 volts have been installed with success, and on the Snoqualmie Falls plant the transmission to Seattle and Tacoma has been operated over 153 miles with a transmission loss of a little more than thirteen per cent.

An interesting feature in connection with engineering work is the close study which is being given to the behavior of materials of construction under stress. The study of the physical properties of metals and alloys by the examination of etched sections under the microscope has led to important knowledge of the effects of heat treatment; the variations observed in materials of the same chemical composition being shown to be associated with differences in physical structure. The action of stress upon materials has been recently made the subject of study by using glass as the material and examining the interior by means of polarized light; the internal stresses becoming visible as to character and direction in a very interesting manner. Since the internal distribution of stresses has been shown to be independent of the material, these experiments with glass enable the laws of the resistance of materials to be studied generally by experiment, permitting the deductions of theory to be put to the test very effectively. The experiments upon beams and pillars of glass have confirmed in a general way the

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accepted theories, but have also shown that certain elements, hitherto considered negligible, should be taken into account.

Recent progress in wireless telegraphy, or, as Professor Lodge prefers to call it, "space telegraphy," has been limited mainly to the matter of "tuning" the receivers, so as to permit the exclusive transmission of messages, as well as to prevent the confusion arising from interference. Although much is claimed in this direction, the details have not been made public to an extent sufficient to permit discussion to be made; but a certain degree of practical success appears to have been attained.

While there is no great reason to assume that the Marconi system can supersede submarine cables for general commercial work, there are certain applications to which it is immediately applicable. Thus, the commencement of installations for communication with the interior of Alaska and the Klondike will permit telegraphy over a country in which the difficulty of maintaining overhead wires has thus far been prohibitory. Success in that country will doubtless mean the establishment of stations along the Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands to Asia, so that the Pacific cable may find itself second in the field so far as actual communication is concerned.

HENRY HARRISON SUPLEE.

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THE AMERICAN DRAMA.

It is no secret that the drama in America is in a parlous state. The voices of protest have long been heard. On the one hand are the veterans who chant the praises of the epoch that is closed. For modern plays and writers they have scant tolerance or open contempt; but they wax eloquent over the memories of ancient stock companies, such as those of the Boston Museum and Wallack's Theatre in New York, and of the stars of the elder day who interpreted the great Shaksperean parts — Fechter, Salvini, Booth, Charlotte Cushman, and Adelaide Neilson. These are the prophets of despair. On the other hand are the devotees of the modern literary dramatists — Ibsen, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, Tolstoi, and Echegaray. They have little to say of actors, past or present, and they are likely to think in their hearts that Ibsen is greater than Shakspere. But they have much to say of elevating the drama. From time to time they have organized theatres in imitation of the independent theatres of Paris and London. Except for the somewhat dreary nature of the plays they champion, they might be called the prophets of hope. Over against both of these are the scribes of the present, who, because they are of the present, know neither hope nor despair. They write for the great theatre-going public; in fact, they are the great theatre-going public.

According to the orthography of the great theatre-going public, Shakspere spells ruin and Ibsen spells rot. When Miss Maude Adams plays Juliet, it laments that the part does not give full scope to her piquant and winsome personality, or it praises what it calls her interpretation as original. When Mr. William Gillette announces that he is to play Hamlet, it observes, with a mingling of jest and earnest, that he will probably not be able as usual to make the action of the play revolve about his cigar. If it regards the efforts of those who have tried to elevate the stage, it is only to remark with a grin that their elevator broke. It has no real appreciation of drama as drama, and as a result it is easily caught by sensational advertising or by the lure of luxurious scenery. It finds no essential difference, for example, between a recent spec-

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tacular dramatic poem constructed around a hero with a big nose who spits a band of one hundred men upon his sword, and a spectacular melodrama exploiting a heroine with red hair who tries to brain the villain with a candlestick—it is no more pleased with "Cyrano de Bergerac" than with "Du Barry." It crowds to see women who express its own frame of mind in the tumid emotions of a hysterical Zaza or a salacious Sappho; and it also crowds to see a great and good comedian, such as the dear, familiar Rip Van Winkle, who happens to express its own deep wholesomeness of heart and its expansive joy in life. If its attention is caught by a distinguished foreign actor, as in the case of Madame Bernhardt or Signora Duse, it is because the greatness of the actor has been sensationally advertised. It pays big prices not so much because it understands high art as because it likes to think that it appreciates the best.

To the prophets of despair this public is sordid and degenerate. To the prophets of hope it is sordid and unregenerate. The passion for despising it utterly is the one ground on which both parties unite. Yet, after all has been said and proved against it, the fact remains that it is the great theatre-going public. In it resides the crude material of the national genius. It follows that a movement for making the theatre or the drama in any true sense a national organization must have deep roots in its intuitions and instincts. The first step in considering projects for reform is to understand its limitations and capacities, to become familiar with things as they are here and now.

The crux of the present problem as to the drama is at once geographical and commercial. The great theatre-going public resides in many large cities, which are far distant from one another, and the business of purveying to it has been organized, in accordance with the genius of the industrial world, into a trust commonly called the syndicate. The root of the power of the syndicate lies in the fact that it virtually controls what is known as the booking of all the great theatrical centres. By virtue of this fact, it has made itself master of almost all the plays that possess appreciable commercial value, and of all the most popular actors. At first the leading authors and players fought bitterly against its control and swore brave oaths against it; but after a brief trial of strength all but one broke them as bravely and came humbly into the fold.

To understand the significance of its control of theatrical booking, we have only to consider the case of the one prominent player who has defied its power — that admirable actress and plucky woman, Mrs. Minnie Mad-

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dern Fiske. Instead of being able to proceed from town to town throughout the country at convenient stages, Mrs. Fiske is often obliged to make long journeys between engagements. Instead of playing in commodious and fashionable theatres which have a clientèle of the more intelligent playgoers, she is often obliged to open in unclean and ill-built houses that are the resort of people who could not possibly understand and appreciate her best work. Only those who know the weariness and expense of theatrical travelling, and who can appreciate how strong is the attachment of the public to its favorite playhouses, can realize what Mrs. Fiske has had to contend against; and it is vastly to her credit that she has been so long able to hold up her head in freedom — to play the excellent plays she chooses in the admirable manner she finds best. It is no less to the credit of the better element in the theatre-going public that, in spite of the force of habit and a natural preference for agreeable theatres, they have rallied about her standard.

In New York, which is rightly or wrongly regarded as the citadel of success, her position has always been critical in the extreme. For several years her stronghold was in the Fifth Avenue Theatre. This was one of the very few houses that kept free of the syndicate control; but the penalty of its independence was that it had to exist on such attractions as the syndicate did not or would not father, and these were almost invariably of mediocre popular quality. After a few seasons the unequal struggle ended in virtual failure, and the house passed into the hands of the great local vaudeville manager, becoming Proctor's Fifth Avenue Theatre. This forced Mrs. Fiske last year to procure a house of her own, the Manhattan Theatre, which is situated in what is locally known as the Tenderloin, and had for some time been given over to corrupt French farces. Here she pluckily continued her uphill fight. Her new plays of last winter were, of course, not from the most popular writers — these were mainly employed by the syndicate; and, as it happened, she had less than her usual success. When she left for her annual tour of the country, she encountered the old difficulty in finding attractions to keep the house busy. It is to be hoped that another year she will prove more fortunate.

Let us contrast with this the reward which the leading syndicate actors — Mr. Richard Mansfield, Mr. John Drew, Mr. William Gillette, Mr. E. H. Sothern, Miss Maude Adams, Miss Julia Marlowe, and the rest — have reaped for their unwilling submission. They find little or no difficulty in getting such plays as they want either from foreign or from native playwrights. For their New York productions the best and

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most fortunately situated theatres are placed at their disposal. In casting a play they are free to choose from among all unemployed actors. When their New York season is over, they move on by easy stages through the minor cities to Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, and San Francisco; and wherever they play they enjoy the advantages of the most centrally situated, most commodious, and most popular theatres. Of course, they pay handsomely for these privileges; but the few of them who are nominally their own managers still receive a large margin of profit, and those who are directly under syndicate control have handsome salaries, to say nothing of the ease, comfort, and distinction that come from association with so powerful an organization.

The situation is the same, in short, as in any business which is organized as a trust. It is well known that the power of the syndicate leaders has at times been exercised with severity and injustice to the individual. From time to time, moreover, reports leak out of internal rivalry and discord, and it has often been predicted that the syndicate would split into its component parts. But thus far the power of common profit has been greater than the power of individual jealousy or wrong.

Beyond question the syndicate has brought great material benefit to the American theatre. Under the old system not many of the independent managers had a sufficient reserve of capital to undertake elaborate and expensive productions, and when they did undertake them the chance of failure was considerable. The force of factitious rivalry made it difficult or impossible to secure the best actors, to arrange the most economical lines of travel, and to secure the best available theatres. The trust, on the other hand, has plenty of ready money to invest in anything that promises gain, either immediate or remote. It is able to make instant use of all the lucrative plays produced, and to place the entire available stock of actors to the best common profit. It is able to arrange tours at the outset of the season so as to keep all the best theatres filled, and to keep all the best companies continually employed. If, in the course of the season, it becomes necessary to alter existing arrangements, the shifts are made with the utmost speed and economy. As for the actors, in the history of the American stage it seems certain that they have never been so well assured of continuous employment and proper pay, of ease and comfort in travelling — of all the material conditions, in short, that minister to happiness and self-respect. Never before have plays been so well cast as a whole, or the productions so well rehearsed, nor has the standard of elegance and fitness in scenery and in

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costume ever before been so high. Never have the best plays produced the world over been so profitably placed before the theatre-going public throughout the land. In short, never has the commercial organization of the drama been so fortunate.

As against this, the theatre has undeniably suffered in all the essentials of high art. The fact that most of the plays produced are imported from abroad reduces the art of the stage-manager to the humble function of reproducing slavishly the foreign production, with the result that intellectual stage management has become almost extinct. One Broadway manager, it is true, Mr. Daniel Frohman, is an artist of high ideals and intelligence. His productions at the Lyceum Theatre and at Daly's Theatre are invariably excellent. He has not infrequently discovered in English plays merits that were not recognized in London. Sometimes, too, his production of a play is markedly superior to the English production, as in the case of Pinero's delightful comedietta, "Trelawney of the Wells."

He is, however, a solitary exception. The general run of American stage management is more truly represented in the company of the Empire Theatre. Of the three plays produced last season by this company, two showed gross and obvious faults — "The Wilderness," by H. V. Esmond, one of the most charming of modern English comedies, and "The Twin Sister," by Ludwig Fulda, one of the most charming of the comedies of the German stage. In a drawing-room scene in "The Wilderness," three lamps were massed before a window, two of which had shades of inharmonious red, and in spite of the collective effulgence the moonlight was visible through a drawn shade — a phenomenon that can only be explained by the fact that it was a virulent Paris green. In "The Twin Sister" the action begins with a painter who is engaged on a mural decoration. At the Empire Theatre the scene opened with the newly popular device known as a dark curtain, the only utility of which in this case was to show the sun dawning upon the landscape of an elaborate backdrop. In order to introduce this childish device, the management required the audience to believe that the painter was working at an absurdly early hour and in complete darkness. Such details are mentioned as the outward and obvious signs of a deficiency in spiritual grace. Any one familiar with George Alexander's production of "The Wilderness" in London, and with the German production of "The Twin Sister" either in Vienna or at the Irving Place Theatre in New York, must have recognized at a glance that two exquisite works of the comic muse had been inhumanly butchered. Thanks to the manage-

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ment of the Empire Company, the great American public has not yet seen either of these plays. Even on the score of financial results the fact is of importance; for neither play was generally popular, as it was abroad, and as it would have been here if adequately rendered.

Under the régime of the syndicate the art of the actor suffers quite as much as that of the stage manager. The whole system rests on the assumption that each play shall run months together in New York, and then months, and even years, on the road. Thus the actors — from those who speak a few lines only to the stars of the company — are doomed to spend a short lifetime with a single part. In the old days of the stock company all hands had many new parts every season, sometimes many new parts each week. The laudators of the day that is dead may well ask where the actors of the next generation are to come from. As against the superficial elegance of scenery and costume, and the higher excellence of the cast as a whole, is to be reckoned the deadening effect of a long run on the general spirit of the acting. Variety is the spice of acting, as of life. When an actor shifts at short intervals from Hamlet to Joseph Surface, from Falstaff to Tony Lumpkin, he must have all the resources of his technique at his finger tips, and each shift brings something of the excitement of a new venture. When an actor plays a single part as long as Mr. Gillette has played Sherlock Holmes, his interpretation of it is apt to have all the lifelikeness and delicacy of shading of the ten thousandth impression from an electrotype. The evil does not end here. The syndicate controls the entire output of the world's drama, and is thus able to select for every star such parts as he has proved most capable of playing in a popularly acceptable manner. The change from "Too Much Johnson" to "Secret Service" and then to "Sherlock Holmes" is like a change from drab to gray.

It might be supposed that the public would resent this monotony, but in point of fact it rejoices in it. For the keen strokes of character, the fine shadings of an artistic impersonation, it has scant intelligence, but it dearly loves its favorites. Thus the art of acting, the very essence of which, properly considered, is the power to merge one's own creative spirit with the creative spirit of the dramatist, becomes the mere exploitation of a popularly attractive personality. What the managers advertise and what the public want to see is not a drama, but an actor. If an actor has a high ambition as an artist, as many actors have, he soon finds that his managers and his public are united to thwart it. Some years ago Mr. E. H. Sothern, whose eminence makes him independent of arbitrary managerial control, elected to produce Hauptmann's exquis-

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ite fairy drama, "The Sunken Bell." The powers that were shrugged their shoulders, and the great theatre-going public stayed away. The reason was, of course, that the bell-founder Heinrich was not what is known as a Sothern part. Was he not faithless to his wife? And did he not die in the end, frustrated? The great public is expert in such matters, and recognized him at once for a villain of melodrama. The more intelligent people everywhere welcomed the new departure, and were grateful for it; but in the eyes of the great theatre-going public, and, in consequence, in the eyes of the theatrical speculators, the production was a failure; and no man who lives to please can afford to have the reputation of many failures.

When there is so little real appreciation before the footlights and behind them, there is scant hope for the artistic drama. If a work of dramatic literature has strong popular qualities it runs a good chance of being murdered, as in the case of "The Wilderness" and "The Twin Sister." If it has neither an attractive hero nor a happy ending, its fate is that of "The Sunken Bell." There is no use explaining that it is a poetic tragedy. The great theatre-going public is shrewd; it knows that people who care for that sort of thing have long hair, that they are always trying to elevate the stage, and that their elevator always breaks. The most popular dramatist is not exempt on this score.

Mr. J. M. Barrie's piquant and wholesome play, "The Little Minister," ran for so many years that it bade fair to absorb the artistic life of Miss Maude Adams, and she was obliged to exert her will against that of the syndicate in order to be allowed to appear in other parts. The same author's "The Wedding Guest" is a work of far deeper and truer feeling and far greater intellectual power; but its subject is of the kind which people who cannot think deeply and feel deeply call unpleasant, and it has no strong part for a star actor. It did fairly well in London and would probably pay expenses anywhere; but it has not yet been seen in America. "The Lackey's Carnival," by Henry Arthur Jones, is in a similar case. It is built about a satirical character part which is one of the strongest in the range of modern drama, and which gave an English player of minor note a chance to show that he has the making of a great character actor. But the part is popularly unsympathetic. The great theatre-going public would ignore the play if it were played by a minor actor, and would resent it if it were played by a popular one. A similar fate awaits a play that has once run its course of months and years. Unless it offers great opportunities to a star actor it is seldom or never revived. Most of the plays produced each season are

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inferior to Mr. Pinero's "The Magistrate," "The Amazons," and "Trelawney," and, in fact, to many plays of the last quarter of a century. Any one of these plays might be revived with fair profit. But the most economical management of the syndicate booking is secured in the case of plays that are reasonably certain of long runs. So the mediocre novelty is given life, and the master works of the past are dead to the stage.

It has sometimes been said that the prevalence on our stage of plays of foreign origin is prejudicial to the native drama. When the whole world is laid under tribute, the native playwright has, it is true, to face a keen competition. But against this is the fact that a play on an American subject and American characters has a popular appeal many times as strong as a play dealing with foreign themes and foreign actors. Such actors as W. H. Crane and N. C. Goodwin show a decided preference for American plays, the grounds of their preference being presumably of a purely commercial nature. Moreover, the importation of the best plays from abroad tends to educate the public, and the playwrights too. The chief drawback in the production of good American plays is the fact that all subjects are tabooed except such as, by appealing to the great theatre-going public, are inviting to the theatrical speculator.

The drama is in precisely the condition in which literature would be if the reading public were limited to the ten-cent magazines. In the world of letters, however, there are magazines that still print the best literature even when it is above the heads of the many; and there are still publishers who put forth books of high quality, both foreign and native, even when there is only a slight profit in them, or none at all. The great authors of all time are still reprinted in the cheapest as well as the best apparel, and are within reach of every one who cares for them. There is no doubt that the ten-cent magazines do good in informing the many, and there is also no doubt that the syndicate does good work in giving the play-going public what it wants. The drama has become democratic as no art has ever been democratic in the history of the world. But it will never have any real existence as a high art until it is so organized that the best plays of to-day and of all time find their way to the attention of the most cultivated minds.

The dramatic situation, it is true, is not without some faint glimmer of hope. By a curious working of economic forces, the result of the operations of the syndicate has been to multiply many times the number of stock companies. The perfection of the organization of syndicate booking has made it impossible for many of the minor theatres in the larger cities to exist, as they did formerly, on what is known as travel-

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ling attractions. To avoid closing their doors they have gathered together companies which revive at popular prices the best old plays, from "Box and Cox" to "Hamlet." The sanguine mind may still hope that these stock companies will revive the glories of the past generation; but the hope is apparently doomed to prove vain. The theatres of the stock companies are usually situated in unfashionable districts and their clientèles are of the humble sort; so that the maximum charge for the afternoon is twenty-five cents and for the evening fifty cents. In order to make both ends meet, the management is forced to give two performances daily, and to change the bill weekly. At this rate it is obviously not possible to make the scenery and costumes adequate. The labors of the stock actors are so severe that many of them break down and even die in the harness from physical exhaustion; but even at this it is not possible properly to rehearse a production. It is true that these stock companies train up actors in a way that nothing else does; but the fact is as much a source of weakness as of strength, for as soon as an actor attains any considerable degree of excellence, he is tempted to join the syndicate companies by the prospect of less arduous work, greater pay, and greater luxury. One substantial benefit, however, has resulted from the work of the cheap stock company theatres. They have shown beyond question that the public taste is still sound enough to justify repeated revivals of the good old plays.

The stock companies controlled by the syndicate reach a higher level of excellence, but they offer less ground for hope. As far as character actors are concerned they do very well, and for this reason they sometimes give excellent all-round performances. But they find one grave difficulty. It is an incident of the amiable limitations of the theatre-going public that handsome and agreeable lovers are at a premium; and as soon as one of the stock companies produces an attractive leading juvenile the operation of purely commercial considerations drives him out on the road as a star. From the company of Mr. Daniel Frohman have come E. H. Sothern, Herbert Kelcey, Effie Shannon, James K. Hackett, and Mary Mannering. Next season it is announced that Jameson Lee Finney will be a star. The product of the Empire Company includes Henry Miller, Viola Allen, and William Faversham.

The loss of the stock companies does not end here; for as it is necessary that all these popular stars should have popular parts to play, the stock companies are apt to lose the most attractive new dramas. Both as to their companies and as to their repertory the stock companies are thus narrowly limited. In point of fact it can scarcely be said that they

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have a repertory. Every year the runs of new plays are pushed to the utmost limit, with the result that revivals are few and far between. Last year the company at Daly's Theatre produced two new plays, "Frocks and Frills" and "Notre Dame," but made no revival. The spare time was filled out with musical comedies. The company at the Empire Theatre produced "The Wilderness" and "The Twin Sister." If these plays had run the season out there would doubtless have been no revival; but, as they did not, the public was enabled to see one old play, "The Importance of Being Earnest," by Oscar Wilde. The first run of this play had been cut short seven years before by the sensational scandal which ended the career of the author as a playwright, and the piece therefore had unusual elements of interest. The older classics of the English stage, from Goldsmith back to Shakspere, these syndicate stock companies never attempt; and as for the classics of other countries, they are undreamed of. Clearly, the whole force of the syndicate organization works against the production of old plays.

Of all the hopeful signs of the times the most hopeful is the enterprise of the actors themselves. The natural ambition of an artist is to do the best work only, and from year to year of late the leading American players have struck out along new lines. Miss Maude Adams has played Juliet. Mr. Sothern has played Heinrich, in "The Sunken Bell," and Hamlet. Miss Henrietta Crosman, who, by the way, has blazed her own path to metropolitan success in the face of the syndicate, has used her first opportunity to give an admirable impersonation of Rosalind. Miss Julia Marlowe, who before her term of service with the syndicate used to play the best plays admirably, has promised to appear in Shakspere. Mr. Gillette has threatened to appear in Hamlet. All the plays produced have been measurably successful, but in no case has there been a universal demand for them from the great theatre-going public. The speculative managers, in consequence, have looked upon them merely as sops to the ambitions of their most successful actors.

All these actors are almost incessantly occupied with theatrical novelties that promise to run months and years — Miss Adams in "The Little Minister" and in "Quality Street," Mr. Sothern in "If I Were King," Miss Marlowe in "When Knighthood Was in Flower," and Mr. Gillette in "Sherlock Holmes." Mr. Richard Mansfield, who is by far the most successful of the ambitious actors, has long produced plays of very high dramatic value, and by so doing has placed himself as an artist in the foremost rank of English-speaking actors, with no equals except Forbes Robertson and Sir Henry Irving — neither of whom is indubita-

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bly his superior. Though on the whole the public has supported Mr. Mansfield's ventures, the fact has been sometimes due, in a large measure, to sensational advertising, as in "Cyrano de Bergerac," and sometimes to senseless scenic luxury, as in "Henry V." He has met with some very discouraging reverses, as in the case of his memorable production of "Richard III." During the last season he has been employed with a fragile trifle of pink romance, "Monsieur Beaucaire," which had not even the virtue of being as interesting as the graceful novelette from which it was fashioned.

When the syndicate does produce a classic, it cannot always be said that the performance has the highest artistic value. Especially is it to be remarked that the classic plays have been much less frequent than could be desired. The record of the season just passed, for example, gives us two performances of Ibsen's "A Doll's House" from Mrs. Fiske and several months of "As You Like It" from Miss Crosman — both anti-syndicate actors! And the season was only a little below the average of recent years! That the upward tendency among American actors will carry the drama far seems very unlikely. As long as the theatre continues to be managed along purely commercial lines, their struggles must be very much like those of the proverbial aspirant who tried to pull himself up by his boot straps. Yet, taking the record of several years together, it is evident that the number of those who are looking for a freer artistic life is on the increase, and also that a very considerable proportion of the great theatre-going public is ready to enjoy the best and to pay for it.

The only instance in which the commercial manager has of his own motion stood sponsor for the best and nothing but the best has been in the case of foreign actors who, by means of the exceptional opportunities offered for advertising, could be profitably exploited through a year of travel. Mrs. Patrick Campbell enriched the dramatic year by giving a season of the more sombrely intellectual modern dramatists — Pinero, Björnson, Maeterlinck, Echegaray. In London she had lost many thousands of pounds over these very plays; but in America she met with such favor that she not only met all her old obligations, but retired with a substantial balance to the good. Sir Henry Irving, under a similar arrangement, contributed Shylock and Coriolanus to the credit of the past season, and was even more richly rewarded. For several years the fortunes of the Lyceum Theatre in London have been at a low ebb. Neither novelty nor revival has long filled the house. Two seasons ago the splendid production of Coriolanus played to empty benches until the annual

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American invasion began in June, and then the house filled up. Again and again, as in the season just passed, Sir Henry has retrieved the fortunes of the Lyceum by touring in America.

Altogether, the fate of such good fare as has been given us is such as to throw the most favorable light on the intelligence — or at least the ambitions — of the better element in the American theatre-going public. In view of the fact that this public has been mainly educated on the lines of the productions of the syndicate, its decided preference for what is best is little short of marvellous. If it were given the advantages of constant and varied production of plays of high dramatic value, it would beyond doubt grow greatly both in numbers and in appreciation. The question is how it is to be given these advantages. As for the experiment of the independent theatres of the past, they should warn us that it is not wise to rely on cliques, however enthusiastic, and much less on individuals — theirs is the sort of elevator that is sure to break. Any movement toward higher organization should be as far as possible the expression of the genius of the best element in the great theatre-going public. And it should, as far as possible, rest on a sound and permanent commercial basis. To ask this is clearly to ask a great deal. Yet a problem of precisely similar nature has been already solved. We have at hand an admirable example of how the drama of a great and widely disseminated nation may be elevated with safety.

The theatrical situation in Germany is geographically the same as in America; that is to say, there are many widely separated cities, each being the seat of a vigorous civic spirit. The commercial basis of the German theatre, however, is the direct opposite of that in America. The origin of the theatre was not in the great mass of the public, but in the more intelligent portion of it associated with the royal courts of Germany. In Munich, Stuttgart, Vienna, Berlin, and many other capitals there are theatres which, like the Théâtre Français, are supported in part by the national treasury. These theatres are what we should call local stock companies of the highest character; and for more than a century they have given frequent productions of the best dramas in the literature of the world, ancient and modern. Modelled upon these, in the leading commercial cities stock company theatres have been founded which depend for support on the municipality and even on private subscription.

No sooner has a play proved successful in one German city than it is rehearsed and put on the boards in all; thus becoming a part of the repertory of twenty or thirty different companies at once. This does away at a stroke with such organization of booking as is at the root of

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the commercial evil of the American theatre. It also does away with the long run, which is the root of our artistic evil, for the rules of the theatres generally require that even the most successful pieces shall not be played more than four times a week, in order that the rest of the time may be taken up with revivals of the classics and with productions of new plays. The actors are thus benefited by constant variety. In spite of this, however, a play is in the end given as often as there is a public to witness it; runs of one and two hundred performances being perhaps as frequent as in America. It is true that in any particular city the returns to the authors and the managers come in more slowly, but this is more than counterbalanced by the fact that the play runs simultaneously in all the leading cities. In many other ways this system is superior to ours. The author has a score of managers to whom to offer a new play. The actor, when his abilities warrant, travels as a guest from this theatre to that, availing himself of the local company and of its stock scenery. The public is constantly able to see the best old plays and at the same time every novelty of the season. Even the mercantile classes share in the general profit; for a large floating public of well-to-do people is attracted by the great educational advantages which a repertory theatre offers.

As for America, or at least English-speaking America, no one who knows the conservative power of established organization, even of the worst, will look for any early duplication of this system. As far as the German-speaking public is concerned, the system is to be seen in full operation: there are vigorous and successful repertory theatres in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Milwaukee, and every season great German actors, such as Possart, Sorma, Odilon, Bonn, and Sonnenthal, make the tour of all these theatres as guests. But it will be many years, it is to be feared, before this admirable example is imitated by the English-speaking public. The syndicate would, of course, oppose any plan to this end. Even more discouraging is the fact that those who might be thought the warmest friends of an effort to organize the literary drama are often the first to oppose it. Last year a strong movement was set on foot in London looking to the establishment of a repertory theatre. Almost immediately "The Times" came out with an article ridiculing the project. As far as the article contained any argument, it was this: The theatre in England is admittedly not on the highest plane; but the theatre in America is obviously very much worse off, so it is best to leave things as they are. At this time a sympathetic discussion of the project took place in America. The New York "Evening

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Post" argued that the projects for an independent theatre had in the past proved discouraging failures, and that it was best not to push the present project for fear that its failure might discourage some one in the future from attempting a similar project. In the history of the theatre the prophecy of despair has probably never been pushed to such sublime heights of illogic.

If these are the opinions of the Thunderer and of the *preux chevalier* of journalism, what is to be expected of the great theatre-going public? In the slow course of time a great deal, as I think, is to be expected. There are, to be sure, grave obstacles. In each city it will be necessary to have at the outset an endowment of half a million dollars, and perhaps more; and in case of mishap or mismanagement it may be necessary to call on private subscriptions for aid. But no people in the world are as liberal in public munificence as we in America. The nation that has freely contributed hundreds of millions to its universities has only to realize the educational power of the drama, and its civilizing influence upon manners, in order to do at least as well by it as has been done by the crowned heads of Germany. A similar obstacle is to be met in the case of the managers. One result of the operations of the syndicate, as has been pointed out, is that the art of stage management is almost dead. But the country that has already shown the highest intelligence in so many fields of science and art will scarcely fail in stage management when the opportunity arises. At any rate, the experience of past years has shown that actors are increasingly anxious to play the best parts, and that a large and increasing element in the great theatre-going public is ready to encourage them. When there is a strong and vital upward tendency the final triumph of good sense is only a matter of time; and nothing could so greatly facilitate the regeneration of the drama as an intelligent study of the means by which France and Germany have so far outstripped English-speaking countries.

JOHN CORBIN.

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LITERATURE.

THE most significant movement of recent months in the field of literature is the revival of the literary drama — or at least the indications of such a revival. This interesting movement it falls to one of my colleagues to discuss, though I would willingly claim for literature rather than for the stage Maeterlinck's beautiful "Monna Vanna." The drama aside, the appalling production of historical novels is unabated. Few of these, I think, are so bad that a certain entertainment may not be had from them; none, I feel, are so good that they must be read. In criticism Mr. Brownell's remarkable "Victorian Prose Masters" still has a unique distinction among recent works, but the appearance of books like Professor Lounsbury's "Shakespearean Wars" and the English edition of George Brandes' "Main Currents in Nineteenth-Century Literature" shows that the publishers believe that the public for scholarly books is increasing. In general the literary history of the past few months has been comparatively featureless.

Of the books selected for special notice in this article I believe the reader will agree with me that there is none that has not distinction of some sort, though another reviewer might, perhaps, have made a different selection.

FICTION.

"KATE BONNET, THE ROMANCE OF A PIRATE'S DAUGHTER"[1] is by no means a remarkable book, but as the last book of a writer of very distinct personal quality, it cannot be passed without notice. "Do read it and don't try to find a puzzle in it. It's a straightaway story," said Mr. Stockton to a friend who had asked if he should read "Kate Bonnet." But no reader of "Rudder Grange" or of "The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine" could possibly take Stockton at his word in this matter. He was so indisputably sovereign of that debatable land which the preposterous gains upon the commonplace, that in other territory he scarcely attained citizens' rights. And if this is significant

[1] Appleton.

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of the limitation of his talent, it is also evidence of its singularity. There was a refinement in his manipulation of the keys of humor that to the duller sort suggested inevitably the music of the noiseless piano. He required of his hearers the ability to follow the score, and seldom consented to be overtly droll. He had a rare knowledge of our average fellow-countrymen with whom, as a writer, he chiefly dealt, and so firm a grasp upon the matter-of-fact that there seemed to be a veritable wizardry in the readiness with which he converted the ordinary into the wildly whimsical. Half the pleasure of reading him lay in trying to catch the "presto change" on his lips.

"Kate Bonnet," its author to the contrary, is no "straightaway story." One remains to the end in doubt whether the repeated attempts of Master Bonnet, Barbadoes planter, to become a real pirate are the expression of an amiable idiosyncrasy or of a painfully morbid delusion. The old Stockton appears in the scene where the amateur pirate nerves himself to his first capture — that of his senior church-warden — but much of the book is stark tragedy and little of it is ingenuous romance. The Stocktonian possibilities of piracy conducted under the disadvantage of association with a psalm-singing and persistent body servant; of the fair young daughter passing, in the quest of her prodigal father, from her chartered craft to the care of a sentimental Irish pirate — these are glanced at but missed. Of course Stockton brought uncommon literary skill to this uncongenial task: one may defy the recent swashbuckling school out of its many score of sword fights to fetch up a better one than that of Blackbeard and villainous Captain Vince. But all through the book one feels that Stockton's delightful fancy is impeded by the necessity of writing romance — for romance must be taken seriously — and no minor clause of the indictment against the "historiasters" is the charge that their vogue brought to this the author of "Rudder Grange."

Good judges, with a rarely exampled unanimity, have exempted from the general dispraise of the current historical novels Mrs. Wharton's "THE VALLEY OF DECISION," as superior to its class. They might have gone further and said that it practically constitutes a class by itself; planning nothing less than to give a true portraiture of the Italian mind as it was just before the dawn of the struggle for independence. One can only praise the scheme which makes Prince Odo the inheritor of all the shackles of the past and the uncertain borrower of the hope which had spread from Jean Jacques through the slumbering nations. He is the type, or rather the personification, of the time in which he lives, the

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expression of all its aspirations as of its hesitancies. One may enjoy unreservedly the descriptive beauty of individual scenes. No eighteenth-century vignette would have rendered more authentically or winsomely the enthusiast Fulvia and her philosophic parent as they first appear before the expectant prince. The book is learned to the core. Mrs. Wharton has wintered and summered her Jesuits, and has her Vulcanists, Neptunians, and Illuminati, at her fingers' tips; she knows her strolling players — and her Casanova, one may assume — like her pocket. But her book, which many are reading as an interesting historical study, some way misses it as a novel. Her people are either refined away to mere symbols, like Prince Odo, or so vaguely characterized as to seem mere factors in Mrs. Wharton's historical demonstration. Red blood is only in Fulvia (occasionally) and in the Grand Duchess. Add to this that all the characters speak in just one distinguished literary tone — that of "Crucial Instances" — and the inventory of "The Valley of Decision" is sufficiently made.

By far the most pleasing of the recent novels is Mr. A. T. Quiller-Couch's "THE WESTCOTES."[1] Somewhere in Henry James, unless memory plays me false, there is a wonderful English spinster who, passed over by love, lives and always has lived among surroundings which intensify her provincial charm. A distant American cousin drifts into her life by way of the Latin Quarter. Her shrinking from his youth and artistic unconventionality gives way to fascination, and to a love, under which belated passion she remains a little ridiculous and very pathetic. The young cousin prudently goes away and spares himself and her an embarrassment. This is very much Mr. Quiller-Couch's story, which has, however, an additional poignancy from the fact that the young French captive, Charles Raoul, experiments deliberately with Dorothea's unseasonable infatuation. It is interesting to note that the novel is dedicated to Mr. Henry James.

The Westcotes of Bayfield were three: Endymion, Narcissus, and Dorothea. The most salient was Endymion, the elder. Admirable, serviceable, intolerably patronizing, his memorial slab, which seems of his own composition, named him "a conspicuous example of that noblest work of God, the English country gentleman." Narcissus, unlike his brother, was not for politics, charity, or finance, but all for Roman roads and local antiquities. He exhibited the connoisseur's aloofness from life and apparent selfishness; something, too, of the connoisseur's intui-

[1] Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Company.

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tive quality. Under the thumb of these brothers lived Dorothea, aged something like forty.

> Dorothea, the daughter, was a plain girl; her brothers, though kind and fond of her after a fashion, did not teach her to forget it. She loved them, but her love partook of awe; they were so much cleverer, as well as handsomer, than she. Having no mother or friend of her own sex to imitate, she grew into an awkward woman, sensitive to charm in others and responding to it without jealousy, but ignorant of what it meant or how it could be acquired. . . . She knew that people laughed at her, and that yet they liked her; their liking and their laughter puzzled her about equally.

To enhance the Westcotes needed only the neighborhood of the French prisoners of war, captives of the Napoleonic campaigns. Noble folk many of them, they were everything that the Westcotes were not; and the story of the routs and conversazioni in which French and English foregathered affords the comedy of the book. The French oddly preferred the awkward Dorothea to her masterful, or learned, brother.

Among those who observed curiously this strange type of womanhood was the young painter, Charles Raoul, who brought to Dorothea for the first time the feeling of being cared for and understood. This is a dangerous feeling for a spinster who has not through experience of love gained immunity. Dorothea did not so much as recognize the peril and came tardily to her woman's right of loving, while her lover was adding a piquant episode to his sentimental experience.

How through sheer humility and transparent sincerity Dorothea wore ridicule like a garment of praise, how out of a disesteemed love she won emancipation from girlhood unduly prolonged, how faithful to her exquisite neatness of soul she "tidied up" the chamber of her affections — one must learn of Mr. Quiller-Couch, who has made of her story a little masterpiece.

Essays and Criticism.

The scholarly publications which marked the bicentenary of Yale University are mostly for the erudite. The striking exception to this rule is Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury's "Shakespearean Wars: Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist, with an Account of his Reputation." [1] Until his "Studies in Chaucer" no one had fairly exploited the human interest of the neglected annals of critical opinion in its aberrations. In the large volume under notice, Prof. Lounsbury begins the far greater subject of the life history of the fame of Shakspere. This is tantamount to a record of the follies of the wise and to an exhibition of the

[1] New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Edward Arnold.

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inferior judgment of superior persons for two centuries after Shakspere's death; and Prof. Lounsbury plays his part of showman for the criticasters with unfailing appreciation of the humorous foibles of his troupe. He shows how, from his tavern fellow Ben Jonson down, the admirers of the greatest English dramatist apologized for his lack of art, till a German pamphleteer, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, taught the world better. He shows how beside those who defiantly or apologetically admired "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" and the "Tempest" and "As You Like It," there were always critics who found the irregularities of Shakspere's genius unpardonable — Rymers to expose his disregard of poetic justice, Dennises to reprehend his violations of the sacred unities, Voltaires to express abhorrence of his mixture of the tragic and comic —so that, in short, until the nineteenth century dawned, no judicious person was privileged to entertain a frank enthusiasm for Shakspere, and still retain an easy conscience as a man of taste.

In the hands of any one but Prof. Lounsbury, the book would be a rather dreary chronicle of critical incompetency; but he has seen so clearly the apparent reasonableness of so much solemn blundering, has felt so keenly the rightness of sturdy popular opinion, has enlivened the narrative with so much of his personal wit and wisdom, that the book is delightful to every regenerate reader. Scholars will regret a certain prolixity — ungraciously, perhaps, since the surplusage is usually both profitable and entertaining to the general reader — and will find that in the discussion of dramatic theory Prof. Lounsbury sometimes fails to come to close quarters with his theorists. His zeal, furthermore, leads him to prove too often what may now be safely taken for granted, that "Gentle Will" was no barbarian warbler of woodnotes, but a great artist and a conscious one. In the volumes which he reserves for the castigation of Voltaire as a Shaksperean critic and for the consideration of the vicissitudes of Shakspere's text, he will find a theme more concrete and congenial. Somewhere in his introduction Prof. Lounsbury descants upon "the incalculable services which have been wrought by wrath in behalf of the advancement of learning." This service, such as it is, learning has rarely lacked. It has more frequently lacked the rare good sense and good humor which make the most learned of Prof. Lounsbury's books quite as delightful to the merely curious as they are valuable to the scholarly reader.

George Brandes brings to the study of literary history a severer method than Prof. Lounsbury, with an equal vigor and raciness. The

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reading public of England and America approached the great Danish critic through his brilliant and paradoxical study, "William Shakespeare." It was the success of that work which prompted the Macmillan Company to brave the general indifference to serious criticism and present in six volumes, of which two are already issued, Dr. Brandes' most important work, "MAIN CURRENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE." The germ of this work was a course of lectures delivered in 1872 at the University of Copenhagen. The advanced social and religious views incidentally presented cost Prof. Brandes his university position, and "Main Currents" was written in German for a more liberal public. For years past students of modern literature have been charged to read this book and have been put on their guard against its sweeping generalizations. Both counsels were wise; it is neither a book to ignore nor to follow unreservedly.

The opposite poles of literary criticism are the determinism of Taine and the individualism of Sainte-Beuve. George Brandes has avowedly learned of both masters and in some degree combines their methods, adding a wholesome tendency of his own to measure literary theory by its social implication and utility. This triple envisagement of a literary movement is clearly exemplified in his first volume, "The Emigrant Literature:" Chateaubriand, De Staël, Benjamin Constant, and Obermann were all reactionaries against the principles of the Revolution, because they had variously suffered in the great upheaval — the social cause; they were all moody, rebellious spirits, because they inherited the sensitiveness of Rousseau and his distrust of organized society, without his hope of human perfectibility through the return to nature — the personal predisposition; finally, these exiles were at bottom wrong, because they failed to see the abiding value of the rationalism they one and all despised, and because they exalted a barren cult of the individual above ideals of social progress and solidarity — the social implication. It is in this fashion that Brandes sounds and measures and charts the first of his "Main Currents."

But these Emigrants had at least the dignity of revolt against a formidable government, and most of them had paid for their principles with their bodies. The writers of "The Romantic School in Germany," the subject of the second volume, are a remove further from life. The Schlegels, Tieck, Novalis, Hoffmann, Werner, and Brentano were only in revolt against bourgeois conventions which were powerless to harm them, and might have done them good. Their deliberate excesses in literature and life had the grotesqueness of a witches' sabbath without

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anything of the satanic nobility which invested a Chateaubriand, or of the Promethean quality — in a feminine dilution — which gave distinction to a De Staël. The Germans were a smaller lot, quite exclusively and effusively literary. Hence Dr. Brandes is inclined to lose patience with them and to cry out despairingly: "Oh! Romanticism, Romanticism!"

It is a defect of his treatment of the German romanticists that he takes them more seriously than they took themselves, and sometimes, particularly in the case of Tieck, reckons as unconscious depravity what was written as quite conscious paradox. At times his narrative reads like an indictment, and his biographies of his "prisoners" have something of the unedifying, if entertaining, flavor of a Newgate calendar. And yet this unsparing, perhaps excessive, social criticism is frequently illuminating. Take this incidental observation upon Friedrich Schlegel's Dorothea and August Wilhelm's Caroline: from this chapter of inconstancy "we learn something else besides the fact that the Romanticists were very changeable in their loves, and perfectly regardless of social ties; and that something is that *their women were superior to them in everything but talent,* and that what the men did was to drag them down to their own level." This is the kind of comment that only the finest criticism affords. Why is Madame de Staël in every way a nobler figure than Chateaubriand or her lover Benjamin Constant, and George Sand, at a later period, than Musset or Chopin? Simply because these women lived their romanticism and revolt, underwent its hardships and sacrifices, bravely defied the society or political order they professed to scorn — while the men conducted their revolt most platonically and with all regard for their personal ease. The women, then, were as much more heroic than the men as passion is greater than sentimentalism, life than literature.

This single example of George Brandes' virile method must suffice. In commending this stimulating work, it may be desirable to enumerate the titles of the four volumes which are to come. These are: "The Reaction [Catholic and Monarchical] in France"; "Naturalism in England"; "The Romantic School in France"; and "Young Germany." The survey closes with the year 1848.

"Main Currents" must be read by all who wish to understand national literature as a specific expression of great emotional experiences common to the civilized world. For the succeeding volumes the publishers should supply analytical tables of contents. At present it is difficult to find one's way about in a work which abounds in valuable detail;

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and the index, which it may be assumed will round up the edition, will not wholly meet this need.

"O Pollock! let you and I and Spedding stand out against these damnable German humbugs," writes FitzGerald, apropos of an article "with a deal of Æsthetics in it." Omitting the qualificative German, the quotation might serve as a motto for Herbert Spencer's "FACTS AND COMMENTS";[1] since humbugs are his target. This volume of brief essays is, the master assures us, his last; and, indeed, the very miscellaneous nature of these thirty-nine articles — the numerical coincidence is whimsical — suggests in a melancholy way the clearing up of a desk preparatory to its disuse.

And yet the volume yields in literary interest to few of its predecessors. In it one finds the philosopher less absorbed in his life-long task of generalization and more nearly at grips with the every-day problems of us all. The several political essays plead for an enlightened individualism; show how fallacious is that theory of majority rule which causes a stockholder or a citizen to assent in the breaking of the contract under which a company or state exists; declare that the "regimentation" of society under government control, and the consequent impairment of individual initiative, are symptoms of "rebarbarization," not of progress. This criticism of recent tendencies of English society has been described as "mere scolding," an opinion in which probably few readers will concur.

The two essays on style and the four on music, while they are valuable as the record of the taste of a great personality, are conceived in so schoolmasterly a vein that one must conclude that Mr. Spencer is relatively insensitive in these matters.

In the essay "Exaggerations and Misstatements," Mr. Spencer cites, by way of illustration, the legend now forming that Huxley was everywhere consulted in the preparation of "Synthetic Philosophy" for the press. Huxley once wrote to Dr. Dohrn, about Spencer: "I have been *his* devil's advocate for a number of years, and there is no telling how many brilliant speculations I have been the means of checking in an embryonic state." But there is telling, says Mr. Spencer; Huxley merely revised the proof-sheets of the two volumes of "Principles of Biology," and, broadly speaking, just three important sections were suppressed in deference to his advice. The explanation seems very like retaliation for an old fling of Huxley's, recalled in the essay on "Feeling *versus* Intellect";

[1] Appleton.

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"Come upstairs," he said once to Spencer; "I want to show you something which will delight you — a fact that goes slick through a great generalization." There is an equal delight, we may imagine Mr. Spencer saying, in observing a great imagination which goes slick over a fact.

It is regrettable that considerations of space prevent the quoting of large portions of the valedictory essay entitled "Ultimate Questions." In it Herbert Spencer examines the fact of the infinitude of space in the light of mysterious relations disclosed by the new geometry of position, and finds in this presupposition of his philosophy an idea from which he shrinks. Pasteur found in the idea of the infinite something consoling, for he identified it with God. Herbert Spencer rejects this fusion or confusion of ideas, and very bravely confesses the austerity of his own doctrine. "Of late years," he writes, "the consciousness that without origin or cause infinite Space has ever existed and must ever exist produces in me a feeling from which I shrink." "It is a question of facing the truth, not of being comforted," one may imagine him saying; "but that is no reason for denying the need or value of comfort." That no one should be deprived of a real consolation though based on false thinking is the humane conclusion of the essay, "What Should the Sceptic Say to Believers?" For himself in the noble and solemn contemplation of which we have quoted the concluding lines Herbert Spencer proudly reserves that melancholy which even the devout have recognized to be the inevitable familiar of the Contemplative Life.

Travels.

Col. William Byrd, of Westover, came up in the easy circumstances of a Virginia patrician; kept his dinners in the Middle Temple; and frequented the London coffee houses in his youth and brought back the habit of mind of the wits of Queen Anne's time; served as Auditor of Virginia, as member and finally president of the Council of the Colony; built him a stately country home at Westover on the James; and died possessed of 179,000 acres of the best land in the Dominion. His fortune was largely inherited, but somewhat increased by the sale of "that bewitching Vegetable, Tobacco." His library, of which the sale catalogue is fortunately preserved, contained upwards of 4,000 volumes, including the works of Chaucer, Shakspere, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, a very complete list of the classics, the staple works in French literature, and a number of items of *facetiæ* which prepare us for the broad, if innocent, wit of his literary works. These works, which are collected in a handsome volume, "The Writings of Colo-

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NEL WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER IN VIRGINIA, ESQ^re," edited by Mr. John Spencer Bassett, and published by Doubleday, Page & Co., are of a casual nature, recreations of a gentleman planter rather than the studied productions of a *littérateur*. None of them was published during his lifetime; and though scraps of his vivacious journals of travel are accessible in Stedman and Hutchinson's "Library of American Literature," and in the convenient little anthology of colonial literature edited by Profs. Trent and Wells, the present volume is practically the colonel's maiden appeal to the general reading public. His welcome should not be a doubtful one; for his journeys are of the easiest reading, and he himself is an irresistibly entertaining companion — a traveller of the tribe of Chaucer and the legendary Sir John Mandeville.

His best work is the "History of the Dividing Line Run in the Year 1728." It is an elaborated journal of his experiences as a boundary commissioner for Virginia when the disputed southern line was fixed. Byrd's party of chain men and surveyors began this work in the spring of 1728, working then in the Eastern morasses. In the fall they carried the line some two hundred miles back through the unsettled country to the mountains. The first survey brought under Byrd's observation the poor whites, who were settling Virginia territory under the easy North Carolina law. The chaplain of the party from day to day baptized babies as he went. Their parents' matrimonial bond had been blessed by the local magistrates only. The inhabitants of "the Dismal" [swamp] were a sorry lot:

> Our Landlord had settled Himself on the Borders of this Dismal, for the Advantage of the Green Food His Cattle find there all Winter, and for the Rooting that Supports His Hogs. This, I own, is some convenience to his Purse, for which his whole Family pay dear in their Persons, for they are devoured by musketas all the Summer, and have Agues every Spring and Fall, which Corrupt all the Juices of their Bodies, give them a cadaverous complexion, and besides a lazy, creeping Habit, which they never get rid of.

Later Byrd writes of these Carolinians:

> One thing may be said for the Inhabitants of that Province, that they are not troubled with any Religious Fumes, and have the least Superstition of any People living. They do not know Sunday from any other day, any more than Robinson Crusoe did, which would give them a great Advantage were they given to be industrious. But they keep so many Sabbaths every week, that their disregard of the Seventh Day has no manner of cruelty in it, either to Servants or Cattle.

The Indians were already dying out fast; but here and there the party fell in with them. On the Indian question Colonel Byrd had decided views; believing that the humane solution was intermarriage, and citing for this view the example of the French colonists.

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The glories of the autumn trip toward the mountains, when the members of the party shot endless bears and deer and wild turkeys, came upon panthers, wolves, and even a buffalo — the elk was represented only by a discarded pair of antlers — may be followed day by day in Colonel Byrd's sprightly English. The North Carolina commissioners, true to the character Byrd had given their colony, soon dropped out, and the Virginians ran the line until opening winter turned them back. Colonel Byrd has an eye to everything — to Indian legends told by his guide, to camp lore and herb lore, to the humors of the forest way, and, strangely for his time, to natural scenery. He took a special pleasure in the River Dan, upon which he subsequently laid out his "Land of Eden":

> The Stream which was perfectly clear, ran down about two Knots, or two Miles, an Hour, when the water was at the lowest. The Bottom was cover'd with a coarse Gravel, Spangled very thick with a Shining Substance, that almost dazzled the eye, and the Sand upon either Shore Sparkled with the same Splendid particles. [These the travellers took for gold.] . . . But we soon found our Selves mistaken, and our Gold Dust dwindled into small Flakes of isinglass. However, tho' this did not make the River so rich as we cou'd wish, yet it made it exceedingly Beautiful.

"A Journey to the Land of Eden, Anno 1733," and "Progress to the Mines in the Year 1732" are less carefully finished than the "Dividing Line;" but the "Progress" contains valuable pictures of plantation life and at least one touch which marks Byrd as "a man of feeling" long before the phrase was fashionable. On his journey, he stopped with an old friend upon whom age had borne heavily. He writes:

> I had not seen Mrs. Chiswell in 24 Years, which, alas! had made great Havoc with her pretty Face, and plow'd very deep Furrows in her fair Skin. It was impossible to know her again, so much the flower was faded. However, tho' she was grown an Old Woman, yet she was one of those absolute Rarities, a very good old Woman.

It is the courtly, genial mood that is so agreeable in all Byrd's writings. These should be read if only to remind us how well these worldly qualities, which the Northern colonies had deliberately renounced, suffered transplantation to Virginia. In the present volume, a beautiful product of the De Vinne press, there is only to regret the absence of a map and the limitation to 500 copies. Why should not Mr. Bassett give us a popular edition of Byrd, including the best of his letters? The owner of Westover merits a far wider acquaintance than this stately volume can possibly gain for him.

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Biography and Memoirs.

The right of Pasteur to be considered in any literary survey of the century just past will be contested only by those who have taken a very superficial view of the literature of that period. It was no fortuitous coincidence that led Pasteur to claim only the honor of understanding the experimental method while Zola was writing the "roman expérimentale"; for whatever may be the ultimate rank assigned to that form of literature the methods of which approximate to those of science, there can be no doubt that it will be generally accepted as the most characteristic, if not the greatest, product of the nineteenth century. It is because Pasteur represents so typically the ideals of the scientific temperament that his "Life," by M. Vallery-Radot,[1] marred as it is by the superfluous enthusiasms of the author and converted into an unidiomatic English by the translator, is among the most important of recent publications.

The story of Pasteur's beneficent discoveries belongs to science. The analysis of his unerring genius for experimentation concerns literature more nearly, but may not detain us now. That steadfast course, in which every triumph speedily became only the prophecy of a newer and a greater triumph, yields in interest to a greatness of soul which makes the man seem more than the investigator.

M. Vallery-Radot's narrative abounds in personal touches. In it one may learn of the essential simplicity of the great scientist, of his loyalty to his family, to his masters, and to France. One welcomes his repudiation, after the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, of the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine conferred upon him by the University of Bonn. "I feel offended," he wrote, "at seeing my name with the qualification of *Virum clarissimum* that you have given it, placed under a name which is henceforth an object of execration to my country, that of *Rex Gulielmus.*" One rejoices, too, at the honors that came to him so easily, at home and abroad, and regards with pleasure that confraternity of science which made his colleagues and rivals and the very bureaucrats conspire in giving to his researches the necessary material support. But the fact which will most forcibly strike the imagination is that, while conducting investigations which were putting a new face upon nature, he retained his early religious faith, and remained profoundly indifferent to the philosophical implications of his discoveries. He knew apparently neither scepticism nor reaction, and his case is almost unique

[1] McClure, Phillips & Co.

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among the great men of science of his time. This came, one must believe, not of any intellectual limitation, but of a rare and peculiar probity. It was, he believed, premature to draw theological inferences from experimental science.

Scientific method has still its limitations. Until it is ready to make demonstrable affirmations on such subjects as love, hatred, patriotism, the sense of the divine or of the infinite, it is bounden to a due respect for all dear, illogical tradition. Nor is the dualism which Pasteur accepted so simply without high precedent. When Descartes reserved from universal scepticism only the assurance that he existed as a thinking being, he retained *provisionally* the standards of conduct to which he was born.

It is a stiff jump, even for a more athletic reviewer than the present one, from Pasteur's battlefield to FitzGerald's garden plot; and yet that delightful recluse, as Mr. W. A. Wright's volume of "More Letters of Edward FitzGerald" [1] displays him, showed quite as much persistency in the cultivation of his own predilections as the great scientist did in the demolition of scientists falsely so-called. "I have been all my life apprentice to this heavy business of idleness; and am not yet master of my craft; the gods are too just to suffer that I should," writes FitzGerald to his friend Pollock. The Letters are the evidence that his mastery was better than he supposed.

There remains nothing new to say about the perfect grace and good breeding of FitzGerald's Letters; and the single criticism of the present collection would be that it contains a certain number of perfunctory letters to correspondents with whom "Old Fitz" was but slightly concerned. Even among his friends, it should be remembered, FitzGerald discriminates carefully, meeting with the utmost nicety each man's habitual mood. The letters to Cowell never contain such sallies as were freely launched against Pollock; while the whimsicality that marks the early letters to Carlyle lessens appreciably as the Sage of Chelsea loses health and heart. For Mrs. Cowell was reserved that chivalrous delicacy of address which makes the letters to Fanny Kemble unique in our literature.

No one really needs a guide to this thin volume of delights. The hearty praise of Lowell's insight, which is compared to Sainte-Beuve's, might be noted. It is coupled with distrust of his "ambition of fine, or smart, writing." Tennyson, he insists, the women have spoiled. "Do you — can you — read Morris," he writes to Pollock, "who (Cowell tells me) almost shares the throne with Browning? *Ter conatus eram*

[1] Macmillan.

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with Jason—as with Book and Ring. No go. Will Waterproof shall survive them all."

If his thoughts "go floating about in a Gossamer way," the substratum of thinking is solid. This appears as much in his renunciations as in his choices. He lets the Eastern Question go, while his boy reads all the Tichborne Trial. In all the letters there is not a single allusion to Matthew Arnold, and most reasonably, for Arnold was battering away at the Philistines — a class and a word which were as remote from FitzGerald's curiosity as Sala from Omar. *Cultivons notre jardin* was his motto, and surely no one will find that the fragrant personality embalmed in this and the earlier volumes was a product unworthy of all the pains and all the renunciations. If any apologia for this little collection were necessary it would be found in FitzGerald's words on Walpole:

I like Horace Walpole: he's capital fun, and the most easy reading in the world: no small praise, for easy reading does not presume easy writing by any means. Walpole, I suppose, wrote easily; but then it's not easy to have such a head as would write so easily.—Q. E. D.

While the exuberance of Clara Morris' "LIFE ON THE STAGE"[1] will for a moment provoke the hostility of a superior person, such a reader will end in a state of abject surrender to the charm of her story. In fact a certain staginess is part and parcel of the book, and a kind of guarantee of its good faith. As is the custom of autobiographies, the early chapters are the best; and it is hard to imagine anything more charming than the story of the girl Clara's experiences with the Ellsler Stock Company at Columbus, Ohio. She was a member of the ballet, and, though she soon took speaking parts, received only a "thinker's" pay. The great actors of the day played from time to time with Ellsler's Company; so Clara Morris was a sixteen-year-old Gertrude to the Hamlet of both Bandmann and Booth; supported the Keans, whose idiosyncrasies are admirably hit off; and was E. L. Davenport's Emilia in "Othello." There is something very idyllic in the description of these early years of struggle and learning and ambition, so that the reader almost resents the latter successes and "long runs" with Daly's and Palmer's companies.

There is much of the grace of a day that is gone in her characterization of old associates, of whom she writes:

Looking back to the actors of '65 I can't help noticing the difference between their attitude of mind toward their profession and that of the actor of to-day. Salaries were smaller then, work was harder, but life was simpler. The actor had no social standing, but he was an unknown quantity; he was, in short, an actor pure

[1] McClure, Phillips & Co.

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and simple. He had enthusiasm for his profession — he lived to act — not merely living by acting.

These actors, she continues, were Shakspereans by training and by disposition.

It was odd to hear how they used his words and expressions in their daily conversation. 'Twas not so much quoting him intentionally, as it was an unconscious incorporation into their own language of Shakspere's lines. Tramps were to them almost always "Vagrom men." When one did some very foolish thing he almost surely begged to be "written down an ass." The appearance of a pretty actress in her new spring or fall gown was as surely hailed with: "The riches of the ship have come on shore!"

Miss Morris has in a very high degree the autobiographer's gift, that of being one's own hero without either insistence, or affectation of reserve. A charming humor enlivens nearly every page, and while the signs of literary inexperience are everywhere, she never fails in the essential matter of realizing her scene or presenting her character in a vivid light. Her gift of portraiture is, indeed, quite extraordinary; and while it may seem absurd to speak of this friendly book as a "document," it is easy to imagine the profitable use which the future chronicler of our times will make of her Joe Barrett, Jim Fiske, or Augustin Daly. And surely this record of Miss Morris' own gracious personality is of more than transient interest. But why do Miss Morris' literary advisers allow her to publish such a book with few dates and without an index — an appendage quite as indispensable to a book of memoirs as the "bustle" with which Mr. Daly once pursued a certain rebellious "Alixe," was to a leading lady of his troupe, *Consule Planco?*

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

CHATEAUBRIAND'S "Mémoires d'Outre Tombe" are now being published in a handsome library edition by the Putnams. The translation — the first complete in English — by Alexander Texeira de Mattos, renders Chateaubriand's sonorous periods very happily. The work is to be complete in six volumes, of which four have already appeared. It need hardly be recalled that, in spite of their frequent inaccuracy, the memoirs of Chateaubriand are the standard by which autobiography as an art is measured.

"Some Unpublished Letters of Horace Walpole" (Longmans) is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this amiable personality. Those which express Walpole's solicitude for his dear friend, the aged Marquise de Deffand, in her last illness, his sorrow for her death, and his desire to execute discreetly his duties as her literary executor are of poignant personal interest. The little volume shows Walpole in a character quite other than that of a hardened man of the world.

In "The Path to Rome" (Longmans) Mr. Hilaire Belloc describes a walking trip from Toul on the Moselle to the Eternal City. All his experiences are treated in the fantastic vein of Sterne or Rabelais — without their indiscretions. The sauce of opinion is constantly more plentiful than the meat of fact, and those readers who agree with Stevenson that there's nothing like an odd volume of "Shandy" for mental pabulum on a walking trip will thoroughly relish Mr. Belloc's ragout.

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ARCHITECTURAL ART.

EARLY in May of this year, as I walked through West Twenty-third Street, New York, my ears were assailed by a singular rattling sound, proceeding apparently from the Fifth Avenue Hotel. It was as if a gigantic woodpecker were drumming on the limbs of some invisible tree of iron, hidden behind the walls of the old hotel. Emerging upon Madison Square, I found the explanation of the strange din in a black skeleton of steel rising at the intersection of Broadway and Fifth Avenue, near by. High upon the cage of steel columns and beams a dozen pneumatic riveters were at work; and their strident rattle, filling the upper air and echoed from the walls of the hotel, had produced the singular effect I have described. It was a new note in the symphony of the city's noise, and a significant one. It may be heard on half a dozen edifices rising, giraffe-like, on lower Broadway; and everywhere it proclaims a new alliance between art and science, between architecture and engineering; the beginning of the end of the long divorce which has separated them for a century at least. It gives audible and visible proof that, in this country at least, architecture has come under the influence of the same economic and industrial movement that has shaped American supremacy in so many fields. This is, so far forth, an evidence of life; for art in an age of progress is dead only when it segregates itself from other human activities and ceases to feel the pulsation of the eager life about it. It is a hopeful sign when architects know how to avail themselves to the utmost of the splendid resources which science and industry place at their disposal; and it is equally encouraging to find commerce and science turning their wealth and power into the channels of the fine arts.

The extraordinary structures which have been reared in America in recent years for the purposes of business are the evidence that our modern American architecture is a living and progressive art with her eyes fixed not on the past, but on the future; not decrepit, but young and full of life. If she has not yet attained to the statuesque beauty of perfect art, there is in her fair proportions the promise of a matur-

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ing splendor with which the years shall shortly endow her, and of which this mighty nation shall have no cause to be ashamed.

This is prognosis. I have chosen to begin thus, in order that each statement in the pages to follow may be considered in its relation to the hopeful pre-view I have ventured to frame; for many prognosticators refuse to hope and be happy. Here, as in medicine, the doctors disagree. There are those, if I may now be permitted a change of metaphor, who see only shoals ahead and clouds above; they have no confidence in the pilots, and are perfectly convinced that the officers have been trained in the wrong schools and that the sailors are numskulls. The ship of architecture is as good as wrecked already. "Architecture has never been a living art since the Middle Ages; it has produced nothing but inanities and mechanical imitations; there is no such thing as a true modern style, much less an American style." We have all read such jeremiads in the architectural journals and in books and magazines, both American and foreign. One French critic[1] says: "The partisans of the 'New Art' affirm that there exists no art properly expressive of our age. They would make *tabula rasa* of the past, deny it, and strive to forget it." A few years earlier another writer in the same review declared: "To-day an official teaching, narrow and sectarian, obliges the youth to draw his inspiration solely from Greece and Italy. . . . In Paris the manufacture of façades tends to become a mere industry." On the other hand, the brilliant and distinguished Prof. Otto Wagner, of Vienna, equally noted for his marvellous fertility of design and his thoughtful and incisive writing, says, in a recent *brochure*:[2] "*It is indeed to be assumed as demonstrated that art and artists always represent their period.* It is self-evident that the strongly agitated latter half of the nineteenth century also seeks an expression corresponding to a view of art original with itself." And more in the same strain.

I do not propose to argue the general question thus at issue between the two schools of the critics of modern architecture otherwise than by marshalling the evidence and letting the facts speak for themselves. Let us, however, remember, as we survey them, that the most difficult of all judgments are those we are called to pass on contemporary works. Our own prejudices and habits of thought and the echoes of phrases dropped in heated controversy are dangers in the path of just verdicts. The names and labels of historic styles often lead astray. A style may

[1] "Révue des Arts Décoratifs," xv., 352, Paris, 1895.

[2] "Modern Architecture," translated by N. Clifford Ricker. Boston: Rogers and Manson, 1902.

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be growing up in our midst undetected by us because of our habit of employing classifications no longer pertinent. "A style," says Gustave Geoffroy, "is a historic definition, made after the fact, when the ages have rolled by and it has become possible to study face to face the results of a long and painful human labor." That we may not generalize from too slender premises, I shall seek to make this survey as broad as possible. And if my own personal conviction is found to be that we already have our national modern American style, not fixed and final, but fluid and ever changing as all great styles have been in progressive ages, let it not be thought that this means universal commendation of our modern architecture, or an eye blind to its weaknesses and defects.

It will be well at the outset of our study to consider the extent and character of the present movement in architecture in the United States. What are we chiefly building? Where is building most active? What is the character of the architecture produced by this activity? These are pertinent and interesting questions.

We are at the time of this writing on the crest of an almost unexampled wave of commercial prosperity. The building industry, which is the first to feel the effects of commercial depression and the last to experience a revival of prosperity, has now for two or three years been extraordinarily prosperous. Never before in the history of our country were so many millions being invested in building enterprises, over so vast an area, and in such variety. This activity is most intense at the foci of commerce, that is to say, in the great cities, and probably most intense of all in New York, which counts the largest population and the greatest aggregations of wealth. A short time ago it was estimated that $50,000,000 worth of commercial buildings were under contract to be completed in that city by the first of May, and the movement has not yet slackened. Chicago undoubtedly stands next to New York in architectural activity, and Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, and other cities share in the same activity in a lesser degree. But the large cities do not monopolize the movement. Throughout the North and West, and in the industrial regions of the South, new buildings are being erected in marvellous numbers, while in country towns the same thing is true on a proportionately diminished scale. New houses, new barns, new shops, new schoolhouses, and new churches are being built all over our broad domain. Three hundred millions of dollars is probably a low estimate of the expenditure for new buildings in the United States during the last twelve months.

But what is the nature of this colossal activity? *What* are we

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building with all this money? A few suggestive examples are to the point. New York is erecting at present, or has recently completed, a great variety of important buildings, including a Cathedral, Custom House, Hall of Records, Public Library, several great Y. M. C. A. buildings, a new wing to the Metropolitan Museum, many fine churches, a new Stock Exchange, a Chamber of Commerce, and scores of office buildings, beside clubs, hotels, and private mansions of great cost. The other great cities can show records almost as remarkable relatively to their resources. Washington is planning architectural and landscape embellishments of marvellous splendor and extent; Minnesota has just completed an imposing and truly splendid Capitol; Providence has but recently witnessed the completion of the Rhode Island State House; and Pennsylvania has still more recently closed a competition for a new State Capitol at Harrisburg. The National Government has awarded during the past year important competitions, under the Tarsney Act, for custom-houses, post-offices, and court-houses, including two important department buildings at Washington. A magnificent group is in process of erection at Annapolis for the Naval Academy, to cost in all eight millions; and an almost equally elaborate undertaking has been authorized for the West Point Military Academy. These are but a few of the architectural enterprises of the National Government; to these may be added many new city halls and other municipal buildings scattered over a wide area, and too numerous to specify.

The colleges, universities, and libraries share in this activity. Several universities and colleges have "devised liberal things" in the way of new buildings. Most conspicuous, of course, is the gigantic scheme of the University of California, at Berkeley, the result of the Phœbe Hearst competition of 1899, which was international, and was won by a French architect of distinction, M. Bénard. The first building of this colossal undertaking has been begun. At St. Louis, the Washington University has adopted the competitive design offered by Messrs. Cope and Stewardson, Philadelphia architects of high repute, for an extensive and monumental congeries of buildings; and the same architects have recently completed a number of admirable structures for the University of Pennsylvania. New Yorkers are familiar with the present Columbia University group, which year by year adds some new feature toward its ultimate completion; but few among them are aware of the impressive mass of edifices for the City College that is ere long to crown the Washington Heights at One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street.

Libraries are multiplying all over the United States, thanks not only

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to Mr. Carnegie, but also to public enterprise and the liberality of other generous citizens. New York has effected a remarkable reform in the architecture of her public schools in the past few years. Elsewhere scientifically designed schoolhouses have been multiplied in the regular progress of architectural development, as a matter of course, and not of reform. The Young Men's Christian Association is an important contributor to our architectural progress; witness in New York the new Naval Branch, erected by Miss Helen Gould, and the new Twenty-third Street Branch just begun; or the new buildings completed or under way at New Haven, Conn., Scranton, Penn., and Buffalo, N. Y., among many others. Of new churches the number is legion: the old buildings being constantly outgrown, left behind by the march of population, or torn down because no longer suited to modern requirements. The entrance of the church into the arena of social reform is conspicuously evidenced by the changed programmes of the more recent building enterprises and the growing importance of the parish-house and institutional appendages of the church. Certainly in this respect architecture has been in the closest touch with, and has been profoundly modified by, the currents that are moving in the modern American religious life.

In domestic architecture, always the most sensitive pulse of both economic and artistic conditions, no enumeration of recent activities is possible, simply because they are innumerable. From the smallest hamlet to the metropolis of the New World, the ring of the carpenter's hammer and mason's trowel is everywhere heard; and the tide of prosperity is leaving, on every hill and plain and in every valley, its deposit of new houses, small and large, of wood, brick, or stone, almost always a little better, a little finer, a little larger or more complete, and often more beautiful than those they replace or beside which they rise.

The above summary of the vast catalogue of present-day building activities in the United States fails of the impression it might well produce simply because it represents an aggregate too bewildering to be apprehended at once by the mind. It eludes mental grasp as do statements of astronomical distances. One or two comparisons may be helpful. We stand amazed, almost abashed, at the skill and devotion which built the mediæval cathedrals. But an English contractor has recently estimated that he could reproduce Lincoln Cathedral in a few years for $5,000,000; and Lincoln Cathedral occupied ninety years in building. The French cathedrals would cost probably on the average more than this, being loftier and bolder in construction. There are in the two countries — England and France — about 170 cathedrals, of which

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100 are important, and these, taken together, might be averaged at six millions of dollars each. The erection of these occupied nearly three hundred years; but half of the expenditure was probably made in the thirteenth century — say 250 or 300 millions. In other words, a low estimate of the extent and cost of the buildings erected during the last twelve months in the United States equals or exceeds that involved in the erection of all the important cathedrals of England and France together through the whole of the thirteenth century. The contract for a single hotel or office building in the city of New York often calls for an expenditure equivalent to the present-day value of the whole outlay of all the dioceses of France for cathedral erection for a whole year in the century most distinguished for its remarkable achievements in cathedral building.

When we take into consideration that the scientific calculation involved in the design of a great hotel or office building is far more difficult than that required for the construction of a cathedral, and that its planning is far more complex, and then reflect upon how the plans for the modern work are prepared in five or six months and its erection is accomplished in as many more, we begin to grasp the significance of our modern activity in building. We are justified in admiring freely the combination of science and art that makes such results possible, in looking with respect upon the men who accomplish them, in commending the education and the talent which enable them to handle with such consummate mastery the great resources placed at their disposal. Whether or not these men are artists, they are undeniably great builders; and this age is without doubt a great building age and the nation a great nation of builders. Certainly the industry and the science of building are very much alive. Whether the art of architecture — the art of building beautifully — is living or dying or dead depends upon the answer to the third question: What is the character of the buildings produced by all this activity?

There is no absolute standard of merit in architecture. Theoretically, a perfect work of architecture is one which perfectly fulfils the requirements it was built to serve, is constructed with scientific correctness of design and perfection of technical execution, and is at the same time faultlessly beautiful. But æsthetic judgments are always subjective and personal, the reflection of the individual's own impressions and emotions in the presence of the work of art. These impressions are as varied as humanity. Moreover, the very edifice which one age pronounces perfect in construction and in planning is declared by a later

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generation to be both unscientific and inconvenient. Architectural excellence is a relative term; and every building must be judged in the light of the conditions which have produced it, and by comparison with what has preceded it and — unless a new building — with what has followed.

Now, let us apply this method of judgment to our contemporary architecture. Let each reader whose memory or information reaches back ten, fifteen, or twenty years compare his town and village as it is now with what it was at the beginning of one of those periods. The contrast will measure the architectural progress of the years that have elapsed since then. As a rule, it will be most marked in the great cities or in those which are most rapidly growing. Applied to New York, Boston, or Chicago, or to the work of the National Government, the comparison is most impressive. Perhaps I may be excused for illustrating it by the example of New York, with which I am most familiar. Those who know the architectural history of recent years in other cities can parallel the record for themselves in those cities.

Twenty years ago there were but four tall office buildings in New York, the Tribune, Morse, Mills, and Post Buildings. There were five or six churches possessing some architectural interest other than that of relative antiquity—St. Patrick's Cathedral, Trinity and Grace Churches, St. George's, the Temple Emanu-El, the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, and St. Thomas'. These, with the old churches of St. Paul's, St. Mark's, and St. Peter's, the City Hall, the Custom House, the Sub-Treasury, the Tombs Prison, the Post-Office, the Grand Central Station, Cooper Union, and the Vanderbilt houses on Fifth Avenue were the chief architectural monuments of the city. The Metropolitan Museum of Art consisted of one small building, of little architectural merit; the American Museum of Natural History of another, much like it. The Cathedral of St. Patrick had not yet received its beautiful spires; Grace Church had a spire of wood; Columbia College had recently built what is now the Berkeley School on Madison Avenue and Forty-ninth Street, and one wing of the School of Mines; the library on Forty-ninth Street and the School of Mines building on Fourth Avenue were under construction. The World Building fire had recently cleared the ground for the new edifices that were to arise from the ashes on Park Row.

Since those primitive days New York has been transformed. It is still ugly and untidy in many parts, but it is at the same time now a wonderfully interesting city architecturally. In its lower section a new and mighty city has arisen, imposing in its mountainous silhouette,

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splendid in the decoration and equipment of its mercantile palaces. The first of these great buildings to arise in 1882 were the Washington Building, the Produce Exchange, and the Potter Building, precursors of that mighty host of gigantic structures that have made the new sky-line of lower New York so impressive. With the advent, in 1891 or 1892, of the steel-frame system the multiplication of these structures received a great impetus. To-day the methods and the standards of building that prevailed in 1882 appear like those of a remote antiquity and are utterly discredited. One has only to compare recent hotels like the Waldorf-Astoria with the Windsor, dating from 1872 — a flimsy shell of brick filled with wooden floors and stairs and stud-partitions, yet long accounted the finest hotel in the city — to appreciate the revolution in our standards of building.

During these twenty years nearly all the more important places of amusement in the city have been built, and most of the old ones burned or torn down. The Metropolitan Opera and Madison Square Garden head the list, but more recent edifices surpass them in elegance.

If we turn to ecclesiastical architecture, the change is almost as remarkable. From the spires of St. Patrick's to the majestic beginnings of the huge Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the list includes scores of beautiful churches of less importance only because of less size, marking the advance of taste and skill in this difficult department of architecture. In the field of civic and public institutions a similar gain is to be recorded. The new Columbia buildings, St. Luke's Hospital, the new Mount Sinai Hospital, the Emigrant buildings on Ellis Island, the Custom House, the Appellate Court on Madison Square, the new Hall of Records, the palatial Stock Exchange, the great Public Library — these are a few of the recent architectural embellishments of the city completed or under way. The two noble museums of which our city and country are so proud — the American Museum of Natural History and the Metropolitan Museum of Art — have taken on their present stately aspect wholly within the last twenty years, and in large part within the last five years. Other enterprises of equal importance are projected and promise early realization.

In the building of residences, including hotels, apartment houses, and clubs, the advance has been fully as striking. Such examples as the Waldorf-Astoria and the many huge and ornate apartment hotels now rising on upper Broadway; the palatial homes of the great clubs, such as the Century, Catholic, Metropolitan, University, and Union Clubs, the Bar Association, and many others—all these record a like

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progress from small things to great, a like increase of splendor, a like advance in solid, durable, thorough construction, and, in the main, a substantial improvement in architectural character. The Tiffany block on Seventy-second Street (1882), the Villard houses on Madison Avenue (1883), the extension of the Vanderbilt house from Fifty-seventh to Fifty-eighth Street, the Astor and Gerry mansions on Fifth Avenue, the Carnegie residence, and the residence of Mr. W. A. Clark now building on Fifth Avenue — these are merely conspicuous by size among hundreds of beautiful and sumptuous residences built within the last few years.

More significant is the complete revolution in the planning, as well as the exterior design, of the ordinary twenty-foot- or twenty-five-foot-front dwelling, including the substitution of the "American basement" for the "high stoop" of former times. The monotony of the once fashionable high-stoop brown-stone front, in blocks of a dozen or more houses exactly alike, has been forever done away with. Our residence streets have begun to be interesting, our houses to possess individuality of style and design; and the gain to the city is great, even if one finds fault with many of the individual designs or even with many of the tendencies which they exhibit.

This is but a meagre sketch of what has happened in one city; but it suffices to show at least that there has been a revolution in the architectural taste and standards of New York. If the change is less noticeable in Boston, for instance, it is only because Boston was twenty years ago far more interesting architecturally than New York. The change has been, perhaps, as great in degree in Philadelphia as in New York, though less extensive. Chicago has been transformed. It was there that two of the modern American innovations in construction had their origin — the use of "isolated foundations" and the system of steel frame construction. These have revolutionized American commercial architecture, made possible the twenty-story building, and given rise to two distinct types of lofty architecture — the Chicago type, in which the exterior design emphasizes the slenderness and continuity of the vertical lines of metallic supports, and the New York type, in which the horizontal divisions are recognized and the decorative details are adapted from those made familiar by the historic styles of building in brick and stone.

In Western cities, moreover, less congested than New York by the accidents of topography or the necessities of maritime commerce, domestic architecture has been freer to develop the type which we sometimes call that of the suburban dwelling — the house with spacious

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rooms, picturesque in its masses, standing isolated in the midst of its own grounds. Parallel to this has been the development of the country house *par excellence* — the broadly spreading residence of the wealthy, surrounded by extensive grounds laid out in park and garden, of which the most monumental example is the stately *chateau* of George W. Vanderbilt at Biltmore in North Carolina.

It would be interesting to extend this review over the whole Union, even if only the most important architectural works were included. Unfortunately, the materials for such a review are not easily gathered; but attention may at least be called to a few important achievements. Let us note, for instance, the fact that many of the most notable works of recent American architecture have been buildings for public libraries. The two most splendid of these are the Boston Library and the Congressional Library at Washington. It is surely not without significance for our art and our culture that national and municipal governments alike should devote their resources with such lavish hand to the erection and beautifying of public storehouses of books, and that these two buildings should be the most richly decorated with paintings by our greatest artists of all buildings in America. When to these we add such stately monuments of architectural design as the Low Library at Columbia University, the new Chicago library, the magnificent palace now building for the Public Library of New York, the beautiful edifices erected or in progress for a like purpose at Milwaukee, Providence, Washington, Atlanta, and many other cities, we record an alliance of wealth, culture, and art for the public benefit which deserves to be considered of most hopeful augury.

Three other phenomena in the recent annals of American architecture at large are worthy of notice. The first is the artistic educational significance of the great exhibitions that have been held in the United States during the last ten years. Beginning with the gigantic Chicago Columbian Fair, with its stately combinations of scenic architecture and landscape gardening, the list includes the California Midwinter Exhibition, the Omaha Inter-State, the Buffalo Pan-American, and the Charleston Exhibition, besides others of less importance. All these represented a type of exhibition architecture which is wholly American, and which treats the buildings as so many distinct and detached exhibition sheds, internally of indifferent finish and cheap construction, but externally serving as scenic architectural embellishments to the landscape simulating the splendors of a monumental marble architecture, such as has never been seen on this side the ocean.

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Treated as temporary festival decorations, they have been designed as carefully as if built of Pentelic marble, and have served as object-lessons in monumental architecture set in highly decorative landscape gardening. In no other way, save by European travel, could Americans be taught the possibilities of architectural grandeur, of large effects and stately combinations, and these exhibitions have served to awaken an appreciation of dignified and stately composition, of repose and proportion, much needed by the American public destitute of antiquities and artistic traditions. Our French friends have never been able to understand this. Themselves grown weary of classic traditions, they berate us for seeking inspiration in combinations from whose thraldom they are seeking to escape. They forget that each people is striving after what it has not yet attained; they for freedom, we for order and harmony. We need more of the severity of classic forms to subdue the capricious chaos of our various styles. By means of these exhibitions we are learning to design better capitols, court-houses, city halls, railway stations, parks, and gardens.

The second significant phenomenon is the remarkable and widespread movement for municipal betterment. Organizations of all sorts have been of late urging systematic effort to remedy the artistic poverty of American cities in all that pertains to public art. The most important fruit of this agitation is seen in the great scheme now being developed for the beautifying of Washington. Cleveland is about to rebuild her municipal buildings in an imposing group about a public square. Boston has marvellously extended and perfected her park system. New York has erected a noble monument to her soldiers and sailors on the unsurpassed Riverside Park. The architectural adjuncts and decorations of the new East River bridges have been put into the hands of a capable young architect. Soldiers' monuments, statues, and other municipal embellishments are everywhere being treated with greater consideration for their location and surroundings, and entrusted to men of tried reputation instead of to political wire-pullers.

Thirdly, the architectural practice of the Government has undergone a most salutary reform, thanks to the Tarsney Act authorizing public competitions for important buildings; thanks also to the wisdom and good sense of the Secretary of the Treasury and the ability and judgment of the present supervising architect, Mr. Taylor, and his predecessor, Mr. Aiken. The post-offices, custom-houses, and court-houses erected during the last five or six years by the Government have been dignified and

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creditable designs, both artistically and practically; and the designs secured by competition have been so satisfactory as abundantly to justify the passing of the Tarsney Act.

And how about an American style? Is such a thing discernible through the apparent chaos of varied local requirements and practices and individual idiosyncrasies?

Surely not, if by "style" we mean a certain definite and uniform combination of unvarying details: styles have sometimes meant this in the past. But there is no reason why they should be distinguished by the same definitions in all ages. If by "style" we mean distinguishing character, we have a style or styles which clearly set off American work from English, French, or German work, however varied its decorative details may be. In every line of design, the American type is clearly marked. American country-houses, from the smallest shingled seaside cottage to the largest "colonial" mansion at Lenox, are distinctively American, by reason of characteristics which are not found in any European type. Certainly, American office buildings possess style, unmistakable and insistent; and the question whether their decorative details are derived from the Romanesque, the Renaissance, or any other historic style is utterly unimportant beside the fact of their application to a new type of edifice unknown outside the United States. The difference between the Chicago type and the New York type is one of exterior detail, and may be likened to that between the French and the Italian Renaissance, or the French Norman and Anglo-Norman churches of the twelfth century.

We are developing national types in our church architecture, our college architecture, our public libraries, our regimental armories, our railway stations, schoolhouses, banks, and Y. M. C. A. buildings. In each of these classes, our architects are fitting their work with intelligence, and for the most part with taste, to the changing requirements, the special conditions, the scientific advances, of our rapidly developing culture. No doubt they make many mistakes at which critics will carp. No doubt some of them lack artistic training, and on others the Paris École des Beaux-Arts has set the stamp of its influence a little too strongly. Perhaps in some quarters there is too much of Louis-Quinze escutcheons and *cartouches*, and in others too much reliance on the five orders of Vignola. In church architecture the English Perpendicular is now in fashion, as the Richardsonian Romanesque was fifteen years ago. These are the defects of an age of transition and development; the faults of youth and enthusiasm. Beneath and through them all there is dis-

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cernible, if I am not mistaken, the evidence of growth and progress, and of constant striving to shape the tendencies and conditions that control our building activities into forms of beauty.

Most of the architects I know are enthusiasts. They are not plying a trade or merely pursuing a business: however business-like, they are predominantly concerned with producing the most beautiful buildings of which they are capable. They are not grumbling about the worn-out traditions and monotonous sameness of their art. Almost without exception they delight in their work; they are proud to show and discuss it. These are symptoms of a living art. Art is not dying when artists are eager and enthusiastic, and earnest partakers in the strenuous activities about them.

A. D. F. HAMLIN.

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EDUCATIONAL EVENTS.

A MOST significant sign of the times is the remarkable change that is taking place in the attitude of the thoughtful portion of the American people toward the schools. Public education has long been considered a civic charity, an opportunity, as it were, which society is holding out as a gift to the young to enable them to equip themselves for the battle of life. This crude conception is being gradually superseded by the somewhat more adequate view that social security and economic prosperity must depend more and more largely upon the education of the people, and that the schools, accordingly, are requisite to the preservation and extension of the nation's most important interests.

There are not wanting striking evidences of the growth of this newer spirit. The most noteworthy illustration is supplied by the Southern Educational Conference which was held this year at Athens, Ga., under the presidency of Mr. Robert C. Ogden, of New York. Here educators and public-spirited citizens of the Southern States, including the Governors of North Carolina and Virginia, deliberated with prominent visitors from the North concerning the best ways and means for the dissemination and encouragement of universal education among the white and black alike, in the most efficient schools that philanthropy and intelligent effort can supply in the South. The problem of increasing the efficiency of teachers was justly given an important place on the programme. The need of industrial training also received due appreciation. But, best of all, the spirit which prevailed revealed that those who participated in the conference knew something of the economic meaning of public education as well as of the humane aspects of the problem. The wonderful natural resources, it was felt, are as nothing when compared with the resources that lie dormant in the neglected children of the South. The promotion of the education of the young by good schooling, accordingly, must be regarded as neither more nor less than an investment, promising rich returns in the increase of the industrial, commercial, and intellectual wealth of the nation.

A less direct, but nevertheless unmistakable, demonstration of the

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growing belief in education as an economic investment, enriching through the recipient the country at large, is contributed by the recent election of Prof. Woodrow Wilson to the presidency of Princeton University and by the character of the installation of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as president of Columbia. Of course, some allowance must be made for the personalities of the two men. But their elevation to the highest university honors has a larger meaning. Neither of the two men is a clergyman; neither of the two is a scholar of the traditional humanistic type. The installation of President Butler was a national event, bringing together what may be considered the largest company of distinguished people ever collected in America for any event. The keynote of the occasion was sounded in President Butler's definition of the duty of a present-day university, which, he said, "keeps step with the march of progress, widens its sympathies with growing knowledge, and among a democratic people seeks only to instruct, to uplift, and to serve, in order that the cause of religion and learning, and of human freedom and opportunity, may be continually advanced, from century to century, and from age to age." And the election of the great political economist to the presidency of Princeton adds even stronger proof that the current of thought is in the direction of looking to the schools for the solution of the problems of civilization.

While all these evidences are encouraging to the friends of education, there is still much to try severely their faith in humanity. The new interest in the schools is by no means general as yet, and where it exists, it does not always show itself in the most desirable form.

Political Partisanship in School Affairs.

It looks very much as if the politician had taken new courage from the evident lack of an intelligent and virile public interest in the higher welfare of the common schools. For a time the unusual attention given to the schools in public prints and the organization of public education societies kept him in his lair; but in many places he has taken a new lease of activity. The most recent evidence of the injection of party politics into school matters [1] is the dismissal of Mr. L. E. Wolfe from the school superintendency by the Republican school board of Kansas City, Kansas, for no other reason than that he is known as a "Missouri Democrat." The Kansas City schools have made splendid progress under

[1] Since these words were written, Mr. Leviston has been removed from the school superintendency of St. Paul, Minn., by political trickery. The man chosen for the place is Mr. A. J. Smith, whom Mr. Leviston succeeded two years ago.

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Mr. Wolfe's administration. He has been for years a faithful student of all phases of improvement in school affairs, and is a level-headed, thoroughgoing, and progressive school man. But all this is of no consequence to the Kansas school-board politicians, who simply know that no Democrat must hold office as long as there are worthy Republicans to be had to take their places.

Another variety of political interference with school affairs is that shown in the retirement from office of Mr. Orville T. Bright, superintendent of the schools of Cook County, Illinois. His strict adherence to principles of integrity and justice in issuing teachers' licenses gave offence to a man of "influence" in party councils, and he was marked for "breaking." The man nominated in his place is Dr. Augustus F. Nightingale, a man to whom the secondary schools and colleges of the country are indebted for many good things. Dr. Nightingale has had absolutely nothing to do with the overthrow of Mr. Bright; in fact, he is a close friend of the latter, and his course has been in every way the most loyal and honorable.

Mr. Bright has been a thoroughly conscientious, courageous, and able superintendent. The teachers of his county have learned to respect and love him, and have always been in hearty sympathy with his endeavors to develop and uplift the common schools and to extend their benefits. Colonel Parker's great work at the Cook County Normal School had the whole strength of his support in the days when it was assailed by politicians and zealots among the opponents of the new education. And to think that his reward for the devotion of a life to the schools and the course of education should be sacrifice upon the altar of demagogic selfishness! It makes one's heart sick. Some parts of the country are, indeed, sadly in need of a revival that will stir the sluggish educational conscience of the people to vigorous action.

People moored in safe harbors have suggested that an educator's professional spirit ought to rise high enough to cause him to decline a place made vacant by party politics. This is nonsense. Shall the schools and the children suffer to satisfy outraged professional feelings? Not a word of criticism ought to be levelled at Dr. Nightingale for accepting the nomination for the Cook County superintendency. He has a perfect right to accept the office of the friend whom political malversation has turned out. If he should decline, some one else would be found willing to take it. For the good of the schools of Cook County — and that is all that concerns us — it is best that he should succeed rather than an inferior man whom the bosses might nominate.

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There is no doubt that something ought to be done to prevent future attempts of pot-hunting and vindictive politicians from laying hands on faithful and successful educators or otherwise interfering in school affairs. There are in this country localities where the teachers do not dare to raise even a feeble protest against the high-handed outrages committed by the small-fry politicians. To the big political leaders school patronage appears too petty, and some of them have enough conscience to regard the infusion of selfish politics into the schools as wrong. In the West, in some of the Central States, and in certain sections of Pennsylvania, the subversion of school interests by personal and party expedients and the degradation of teachers to vassals of small-souled demagogues who happen to have "influence" are especially frequent. Deliverance from the burden of shame that unscrupulous politicians have imposed upon local school systems will never be effected until the plain people know enough about the purposes of the common school to resent attacks upon it as promptly as they now resent the slightest interference in their church affairs and personal habits. The time must come when the average citizen will be just as deeply interested in questions of public-school administration as he now shows himself to be in the question whether beer is to be sold on Sunday or not.

The removal of Mr. Jasper by the board of education of New York City from the office of associate city superintendent, after forty-five years of faithful service in the local school system, does not excite the odium which attaches to the displacement of Superintendents Wolfe and Bright; yet in spirit and method it is far from satisfying to the friends of education. Two things save the majority in the board from being classed with their political Kansas and Illinois confrères. One is that Mr. Jasper did "respectfully apply for retirement to take effect September 1, 1903"; the other is that under the law he is entitled to an annuity of $2,000 on the date he retires. We are all of us only too readily inclined to leniency as regards principles in such matters if the retiring educator is assured a fair income. But the danger of the "wanton display of brutal strength" — as Commissioner Miles O'Brien characterized somewhat over-severely, no doubt, the action on the part of the New York board — is that it sets a bad precedent to school officers with less exalted views of the purposes of the common schools than President Burlingham and his associates profess to have.

During Mr. Jasper's long and honorable service, the school system of the old New York — Manhattan and the Bronx — has grown from 43,000 pupils to 266,000, and from 1,250 teachers to 6,240. He began

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his career in December, 1857, as vice-principal of a small school in West Eighty-second Street; in 1860 he was promoted to the principalship of the school; in 1865 he was transferred to the principalship of grammar school No. 51; and in 1872 he was advanced to the position of assistant superintendent of schools. Upon the resignation of Mr. Henry Kiddle, in October, 1879, he was elected city superintendent, a place he held until February of the present year, when he became associate city superintendent of the greater city. He has filled also every position in the evening schools, from assistant teacher to that of principal of the evening high school.

So long and honorable a service ought to afford, it would seem, argument sufficient to any fair-minded school commissioner for making the retirement in the most generous spirit.

Whatever shortcomings Mr. Jasper may have revealed, he served the city to the best of his ability, fulfilling his duties, as he saw them, in the most conscientious manner, and in thousands of homes his name is held in high veneration as a friend of the children. If the members of the board of education had been as well informed concerning his good points as they seem to have been regarding his deficiencies, they could not possibly have acted as ungenerously as they did.

A more pleasing picture of the termination of an educator's career in public-school superintendency is furnished by Toronto. Mr. James L. Hughes has just resigned his position as school inspector of Toronto, after twenty-eight years of service, in which he has given the schools of his city an enviable reputation. He is universally respected, and is one of the most eminent school superintendents in all America. The good people in Toronto do not want him to go, and the board of education is making every effort to get him to reconsider his resignation; but, much as he must appreciate the many evidences of the esteem in which he is held by the community, he has firmly decided to devote himself to writing and lecturing.

Mr. Hughes combines in an unusual way the various qualities one would look for in an ideal city school superintendent. His professional equipment is of a high character. His writings reveal a firm grasp of the manifold phases of the practice of education. He has done valiant pioneer work for the dissemination of kindergarten ideas. His influence has been felt in the extension of manual and physical training. He is a lover of children, and the children have always loved him. He has had the absolute sympathy and confidence of his teachers, and has been to them an inspiration and uplifting force. As a lecturer and

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writer he also enjoys a considerable reputation. He has kept up the vigor of youth to so rare a degree that he has for more than a quarter of a century held the reputation of being one of the youngest superintendents in the public-school service.

The spontaneity and unanimity of the many tokens of respect the citizens of Toronto have shown for the head of their school system afford a timely and wholesome lesson to our cities. It would seem as if a school man were more respected in Canada than in the United States.

The National Department of School Superintendence.

There are annually held in the United States two great national conventions of teachers and school officers. The larger one is that of the National Educational Association, which meets in the summer, and by means of State organization and liberal advertising, especially of the sight-seeing features connected with it, attracts from eight to fifteen thousand teachers and tourists. The other is the winter meeting of the Department of Superintendence, representing the most influential section organized under the auspices of the National Educational Association.

Questions concerning the supervision of teachers and the administration of school systems are supposed to be the specific topics of the Department of Superintendence; but quite often the papers and addresses go considerably beyond its legitimate scope. Thus, at the most recent convention at Chicago, less than one-fourth of the time was given to the discussion of subjects bearing directly upon school supervision. A considerable portion of the members would like to confine the department to the specific objects its organizers had in mind; but in the absence of any constitution and of adequate limitation of membership, it will be very difficult to paddock the annual conventions within the limits of school supervision. Meanwhile, the more extreme specialists may in a measure gratify their wishes by arranging round-tables for the discussion of such topics as may commend themselves most directly to their tastes.

The working attendance at the winter convention is made up largely of educational leaders who shape and direct the organization and policy of public-school systems in the United States, but is by no means limited to superintendents. Institutions for the training of teachers are increasingly represented by their principals and instructors. Presidents of universities and colleges have of late also gathered in special session in connection with the department meetings. The attendants thus are, generally speaking, persons upon whom rest large educational responsi-

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bilities. This is, of course, no guarantee that the programme provided is always equal to the demands of the occasion. The make-up of the programme has long been considered the sacred prerogative of the man honored with the presidency, and reflects quite often the individual taste as well as the limitations of the incumbent. Efforts have been made from time to time to shift the responsibility for the programme in a way to assure meetings characterized throughout by seriousness of purpose and by determination to reach practical conclusions. To be sure, a programme which looks attractive in print may prove a dismal failure. On the other hand, apparently poor programmes have occasionally furnished the bases for most profitable meetings, just as Sancho Panza looking for a place to sleep found a hundred gold ducats. However, it is quite generally felt that the selection of topics and speakers for the conventions ought not to be the task of a special committee of experts on programme. A committee of this kind was provided for two or three years ago and is in existence now; but thus far it has not given any visible signs of life. The next move will be to demand of the committee an annual report concerning its doings. The deliberations of the department ought to reveal, even more comprehensively than in the past, and certainly more clearly, the trend which educational efforts are taking in the schools of the country.

This year the Department of Superintendence met at Chicago, on February 25–27. The attendance was larger than usual. The programme was fairly good, though it did not by any means afford a comprehensive survey of the great problems which ought to engage the attention of the leaders in public education at the present time. However, the meeting was a profitable one in that it brought into prominence three or four questions concerning which the school people of the country will sooner or later be called upon to take a position.

To be sure, the date of the meeting lies something like five weeks back of the period to be reviewed here; but the significance of the discussions selected for notice supplies more than sufficient reason for the seeming disregard of the trimestrial limits. In fact, these discussions are striking revelations of the trend of some important movements in the school field, and are thus of most timely interest.

The most noteworthy paper bearing upon the improvement of the schools was that presented by Prof. Paul Hanus, of Harvard University, under the title of "Obstacles to Educational Progress." This paper was printed in THE FORUM for April, 1902. It suggested a practical plan for gathering and organizing current educational doctrine and ex-

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perience, and making the results available to those who arrange school programmes or "courses of study." The plan is thoroughly in harmony with the one proposed by Dr. J. M. Rice some years since. Its inauguration on an extensive scale would do away with a considerable amount of waste of time and effort in educational practice. The reasonableness of it impressed the Department of Superintendence sufficiently to lead to the adoption of a resolution to the effect "that a committee of nine be appointed to formulate, upon a sound educational basis, contemporary educational doctrine; submit statements covering contemporary educational experience; and indicate the tendencies of contemporary educational methods." The committee subsequently appointed by the president of the department, School Commissioner G. R. Glenn, of Georgia, is composed of Hon. Frank A. Hill, secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education; Superintendent L. H. Jones, Cleveland, Ohio; Superintendent C. B. Gilbert, Rochester, N. Y.; Principal C. H. Keyes, Hartford, Conn.; Prof. George H. Locke, University of Chicago; Prof. D. L. Kiehle, University of Minnesota; Superintendent C. N. Kendall, Indianapolis; Superintendent J. H. Van Sickle, Baltimore; and Prof. Elmer E. Brown, University of California.

Superintendent E. G. Cooley, of Chicago, spoke on "The Value of Examinations as Determining the Fitness of a Teacher for Work." While admitting that examinations are inadequate, he was of the opinion that they are the least objectionable of all the tests proposed thus far. The examination, he said, is a machine, and as such may spoil much good material which happens to be out of the ordinary. It cannot adapt itself to exceptional material. Neither do examinations reveal a teacher's moral qualities, his sense of duty, or his interest in school work. And yet they afford the best available test for a long list of necessary intellectual qualities and powers. They are certainly infinitely better than the individual judgment of a person invested with the power of appointment. The objections that have been raised refer to the misuse of examinations rather than to the examinations themselves.

Superintendent F. Louis Soldan, of St. Louis, insisted that examinations should be conducted in an *encouraging* way. The object is to find out what a candidate knows, and not what he does not know. The chief difficulty which superintendents in the West have discovered is that examinations tend to localize appointments. The superintendent does not feel justified in inviting promising candidates to go to the expense of travelling some distance for the sake of undergoing a test whose outcome is doubtful at best. St. Louis has found one way out, in the

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selection of principals, by temporarily appointing candidates who seem to possess the required qualifications, and examining them afterward.

Dr. Emerson E. White, of Columbus, Ohio, touched a vital point when he made the plea that teachers ought to be permitted to earn freedom from examination. There is no doubt that examining is overdone. Every time a teacher applies for promotion or changes places he is summoned before an inquisitor and subjected to all sorts of tests, most of them unnecessary and futile. Some worthy form of professional inquiry into a candidate's qualifications is undoubtedly necessary. But there is no sense in repeating the tests in vogue at present. If a teacher has once established his scholarship or other qualifications, he ought to be free from further examinations on these specific lines. By continuing the logic of this plan, the teacher ought to be enabled to reach at last a point where no further examination can be demanded of him.

In treating of "The High School as the People's College versus Fitting Schools," President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, set forth some fundamentals in his pedagogical creed. The schools, he said, follow three great roads — one turning to the past, another seeking to prepare for the present, and a third aiming at the world that is to be. The past ruled absolutely in Sturm's time. The Latin in the schools of today is a sanctified relic of that period. The veneration still existing for it has so impressed the negro of the post-slavery period that he considers the two greatest desiderata in life to be to hold political office and to study Latin. Any subject leaving no result in after-life is an evil, according to Dr. Hall. He holds also that the translationing English cultivated by Latin is responsible for the slovenly use of the mother-tongue by college students.

To the question, "What keeps classics alive?" Dr. Hall gave a number of answers, among them the following: First, their evident respectability; second, they are the easiest and cheapest of all studies to teach, no apparatus being required and teaching skill being a minor consideration; third, college requirements are an enormous bribe. Concerning the last point he said that electives in admission requirements were a skilfully devised fraud, making it easiest for those who had followed the old curriculum of the classics with a little mathematics.

What aims should the school place before itself? Dr. Hall said that the choice lay between three directions — either the ideal is that of the past, or the present is considered the perfection of humanity, or else the school trains for the future. In his opinion the school must be the nursery of the world that is to be, a world that is neither made in the im-

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age of the past nor exists in the present. Usually children are trained merely to defend the fortresses of the present. Fitting for existing institutions is not a worthy aim, according to Dr. Hall.

Limiting the aim of the school still further, a decision will have to be reached as to whether the social organism or the needs of the individual are to be placed first. Dr. Hall regards the perfection of the individual as the one great desideratum in education.

The ideal high school, according to Dr. Hall, will not be governed by the admission requirements set up by the colleges. English will occupy an important place on the programme. The Bible will be read. The drama will receive more attention than at present. That abomination of correcting poor English will be treated with all the severity that it deserves. The reading of the young people in the high schools must appeal to the dominant interests. This is the time when chivalry must be glorified. Parsifal and Siegfried must capture the interest at this period. Action and devotion to ideals must be presented in literature.

Francis Wayland Parker.

Colonel Parker, the greatest American school reformer since the days of Horace Mann, passed away on March 2, at Pass Christian, Miss., where he had gone in search of rest and health.

What America has gained through the services rendered to the schools by this great leader a future generation of educators will recount with enthusiasm and with far more unanimity than the present-day school men, many of whom lack perspective and are afflicted with a tendency toward measuring what a man is not rather than what he is. History will relate what a revolution he inaugurated in the methods of teaching and governing little children. The significance and far-reaching effects of his fight against pedantry, cruelty, and thought-crushing rote work in the primary school will be better understood, and more generally appreciated, when those who claim the name of educator prefer to walk in the sunlight of educational history to groping their way through the darkness of inexperience with only the little candle of their own wisdom to aid them.

A slight conception of the great change wrought in primary teaching by Colonel Parker may be gathered from the fact that a bitter and prolonged attack was made upon the famous "Talks on Teaching," when the book first appeared. To-day this book is to the primary teacher what Blackstone is to the lawyer — an inexhaustible source of help and inspiration in the daily work of his profession. The methods it so viv-

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idly describes are at work in manifold variations wherever in America a primary school is conducted in the best light.

No man in this country has rendered greater service to the children in the primary school years. His heroic fight for greater freedom and happiness worked a complete transformation in the methods of teaching. So radical was the change that it amounted almost to a revolution, and it had been fitly termed the *new* education. And a new education it was — new as is the spring that beams upon nature after the storms and darkness and sternness and dreariness of winter. The ideals which it represented were not new, and this fact afforded his critics a convenient point for attack. But old though they were, as a wild apple tree is changed to a new tree by grafting so they were filled with new life and rendered sweet and full of delight.

The new education brought happiness into the schoolroom. Under the old régime happiness was too often excluded, and a school was considered good in proportion to the rigidity with which the exclusion was carried out. The teachers of the present day strive to render going to school as joyous as is consistent with the aim of laying the foundation for still greater happiness in later life. It is this endeavor which most distinguishes them from their predecessors in the old school.

Parker found the teacher's life spent among the superficialities and machinery of traditional routine, with never a dream that beneath all the work done at school there was something divine that must be emancipated and brought to light and activity. By intensity rather than logical strength he effected a change which made the living child the centre of solicitude at school, or, more correctly speaking, which abandoned the teaching of the three R's for the teaching of children. School work was lifted from a logical basis up to a psychological and sociological plane.

Others had theorized and talked and written about the mission of the teacher. Colonel Parker acted. He saw the text-book standing between the teacher and the pupil like a wall, and he removed the partition. Some people called this fanaticism and what not. But the immediate effect was that, left without the support which the text-book afforded, the teacher was compelled to develop ingenuity and teaching skill. Gradually the true place of the text-book began to be somewhat understood; and, though its power in the schools is still disproportionately large, it is as nothing when compared with what it was in the old school. The substitution of teacher for text-book was an achievement of the reform endeavors of Colonel Parker. Without this step teaching would never have been raised to a plane commanding the respect of thoughtful

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people. Thus teachers have to thank Colonel Parker a great deal for having rendered their office one worthy of the best work of the best men and women.

Naturally the improvement of the teacher could not be effected without making enemies. Incapable of insincerity and of cowardly half-and-half procedure — protective cloaks so popular with his detractors — he took a bold stand by insisting that the schools are for the children, and that the best interests of the children must be paramount. So important did he regard the training of teachers for their life of service for childhood, that he spent his whole strength as a teacher in exemplifying how it should be done. Under his principalship the Cook County normal school was the most stimulating institution for the training of teachers to be found anywhere in this country. There was an all-pervasive atmosphere of enthusiasm for everything that concerned increase of the happiness of children. There was developed desire, if not ability, to search for the laws of life in all its manifestations, and the graduates of the school regarded teaching as the greatest work upon which mortal man can enter. It took more than the ordinary amount of political chicanery and other school troubles to discourage them and rob them of their enthusiasm for teaching.

Parker's love of children was the source of all his demands upon the teacher and upon the school. He had no patience with the teacher who considered it his business merely to get children to read, write, and cipher, and to transmit the facts embalmed between the covers of text-books. Parker wanted the school to be the generating station of life, abundant life, hence the high ideal he set up for the teacher.

OSSIAN H. LANG.

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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH.

THE purpose of the Department of Educational Research will be to aid in the development of definite ideas in regard to what the elementary schools can and should do, and the best means of doing what they set out to accomplish.

Although many of the problems concerned in elementary education have confronted the world for centuries, and many great thinkers and practical educators have endeavored to aid in their solution, the entire field is still involved in uncertainty and indefiniteness. We have opinions innumerable, but no facts are at hand in support of our opinions. Educators are divided into creeds; and while the members of the same creed are frequently in harmony with one another, and sometimes form a mutual admiration society, there is not a single point on which the different creeds themselves agree.

It may be said, therefore, without any exaggeration, that up to the present time the science of pedagogy has been in its entirety a structure based on no stronger foundation than one of opinions. In this regard pedagogy represents a remarkably anomalous condition; for, as the department that points the way to the development of the sciences, it has itself failed to adopt what it has long been recommending to other scientific pursuits, namely, the inductive method of study. Its works consist of opinions, of reviews of opinions, and of opinions based on opinions, and therefore of a mass of contradictory material; and no really sustained forward movement may be expected until the conflicting views are subjected to analysis in the light of clear and unmistakable facts. And the aim of this department of THE FORUM will be to get at such facts as may be obtained. It will endeavor to limit its duties to the publication of facts, the analysis of facts, suggestive opinions based on facts, and suggestions of new ways of getting at the facts.

In view of the circumstance that during its long period of existence pedagogy has established no facts, that side by side with it, in other fields, facts have multiplied and developed into sciences, it is perfectly legitimate to ask whether pedagogy will admit of purely scientific treat-

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ment, whether it is possible for us to accumulate such facts as will lead to the discovery of certain fundamental pedagogical laws and certain methods and processes upon which all educators must agree.

Those who have never looked upon the educational problem from this rather novel standpoint will instinctively answer the question in the negative. They will say that the problem is complicated by so many elements which enter into the development of the child-mind that no definite conclusions can be drawn. They will be supported in this view by the fact that even broad-minded teachers of wide experience differ on the most elementary points coming under their daily observation. And this further item may be mentioned in their favor, that even the same teachers are continually changing their views, that they no longer believe in one year what they firmly believed the year before, and that a year later they will begin to feel that their second theory was wrong and the first was right, and so on indefinitely.

The evidence in favor of the negative side, though exceedingly strong, is, however, not at all conclusive. That in spite of all efforts the whole field of pedagogy should be still so very indefinite proves without doubt that, as a whole, the problem is a complicated one; but it does not prove that we have availed ourselves of all possible means that may be of service in its solution. It may be that the nature of the child mind is so elusive, and the influence of natural endowment, heredity, and environment so varied, that all definite observation is rendered impossible. Or, on the other hand, it may be that we have not yet applied the proper methods of observation. If the former is true, we shall have to abandon the idea of ever developing a real science of pedagogy, and continue to grope our way in the dark. If, on the other hand, the latter is the case, then we must see what can be done to improve our methods of observation.

In my opinion, both propositions may be answered in the affirmative, and this for the reason that the problem of elementary education presents two distinct phases, one of which is involved in subtleties and belongs to the department of philosophy, while the other is much more superficial, and is, in large part, a question of science. Each one of these phases has its special goals, and each its special means of reaching those goals. The trouble lies in the fact that the two sides have never been properly discriminated. The first includes all those factors which relate to the development of character, while the other is concerned with the acquisition of knowledge and skill.

Broadly speaking, the means employed in the development of char-

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acter — the will, the tastes, the habits, the feelings — are represented by the course of study as a whole, and concern the question of what the schools shall teach — the branches, and to a certain extent the material in each branch. As the composite picture of what the future man or woman should be differs in different individuals and is a matter of philosophical creed, the broader aims of the elementary schools will always differ more or less in accordance with creeds. Therefore, in countries, such as the United States, where individual communities are free to conduct their own schools as they choose, the courses of study will continue to differ in different localities, and will represent the nature of the inhabitants, the stamp of the members of the school board, and the individual opinions of the superintendent.

The means employed in the acquisition of knowledge and skill, on the other hand, represent the elements involved in carrying out the mandates of the course of study, and are matters of detail in school work. They include the division of the material of each branch into parts suitable for each grade, the amount of time to be devoted to each subject in each grade, the methods of teaching each subject, etc. Although this aspect of the problem, as well as the other, has been thus far treated from the standpoint of creed, it is not a matter of creed, but one of scientific inquiry, and calls for treatment on the inductive plan. That it constitutes the heart of the problem of practical pedagogy, and merits careful consideration on the part of all thinking people, I shall endeavor to make clear during the course of this article.

On the practical side of school work, two questions are always before us: (1) How much time shall be devoted to a subject; and (2) what results shall be accomplished. These two questions have been discussed *ad nauseam* in pedagogical works and at educational meetings; but educators are no nearer to an agreement at present than they have ever been. The difficulty is that they have never taken into consideration that there is a relation between the two questions. They have simply tried to answer them independently, and on a basis of philosophical creed. In consequence, we have a mass of philosophical opinion as to what results shall be accomplished in each branch, and a mass of philosophical opinion as to how much time shall be devoted to each branch. And there the matter ends.

Now as the ship of pedagogy, with respect to these two questions, has become waterlogged in a sea of opinions, efforts should be made to point the ship in a different direction and find whether we cannot get

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out of the trough. In this case, the matter is a very simple one: it is merely necessary to change the form of the proposition in order to be able to forge ahead. Instead of stating what results shall be accomplished, let us ask "What results can we get?" This changes the position of the educator from a dogmatic one to one of scientific inquiry. It opens the way to investigations which will enable us to learn what results the schools of our country have been getting — the good, the moderate, and the poor — and therefore what results may be reasonably expected. Our demands may then be stated in very definite terms. The results demanded are reasonable results.

As to the amount of time to be devoted to a subject, the answer is, "A reasonable amount of time to get reasonable results." To arrive at a conclusion in this matter we must find how much time has been given to a subject in the schools where reasonable results have been obtained, and make our calculations accordingly.

The element of time is the saving clause. If we were to demand results alone, we should be in danger of going back to the methods employed in the old-fashioned, mechanical schools. But this cannot occur when we limit the time in which the prescribed results must be secured; for if more than a reasonable time is absorbed in accomplishing the demanded results, the school is below the standard.

It is clear that the plan of measuring results in units of time is limited in application. It cannot be applied at all to abstract qualities represented by traits of character, and perhaps not to certain phases of knowledge and skill; but it can be very readily applied to spelling, penmanship, language, and arithmetic — the branches to which, on the average, about seventy per cent of the school time is now devoted. I base this claim not on mere opinion, but on actual investigation.

The plan of application is very simple. It lies in subjecting children taught under different systems to one and the same test — which must be fair and practical — and comparing the results. Each branch requires a special treatment of its own. In spelling, words are dictated to the children in columns and sentences. In arithmetic, a set of questions covering such work as is undertaken in all schools is given. In language, a story is read to the children, and the pupils reproduce it in their own words. The penmanship may form a part of the test in language. The papers will show the legibility and neatness of the handwriting, etc.

By subjecting the pupils of the schools of different cities to the same test in any one branch to which the plan is applicable we can, without

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doubt, get at the comparative standing of different cities in that branch, and substitute facts for opinions in regard to whether or not the teachers of those cities have been successful in the teaching of that branch. If in arithmetic, for instance, the questions are so selected, grade for grade, that no exception is taken to them by the teachers of any city, and the results show that the pupils in city A can do the examples without any difficulty, while those of city B can scarcely do them at all, then the facts prove that the children in A are a great deal stronger in arithmetic than those in B, and that there is probably something radically wrong with the arithmetic in B.

At the time of writing I am in the midst of a test in arithmetic; and what I have just stated is not an imaginary, but an actual, case. The differences in results in different cities are so great as to be almost incredible. In the highest grammar-school grade, for instance, the class averages have thus far ranged between eleven and ninety-one per cent. As my test consists of eight examples, this means that while in the best class examined every child was able to perform correctly more than seven problems out of the eight, in the poorest they did not average even one right to the pupil. Several of the highest grammar-school classes averaged under twenty-five per cent, while some averaged over eighty per cent. And what is true of these differences in individual classes is representative of different cities as a whole. In other words, while in some cities the percentages in general were high, in others they were extremely low. The schools were not selected, but taken at random; care being exercised simply as to neighborhood, so that the well-to-do, the middle-class, and the poor districts might all be represented.[1]

While excellent results in city A and miserable results in city B, secured on a perfectly fair test, taken under the same conditions, will convince the average man of affairs that the children of A are stronger in arithmetic than those of B, these results do not necessarily carry the same meaning to school superintendents and teachers, who, as a class, are not supposed to be people of affairs, but philosophers and psychologists. If the pupils of A should obtain an average of ninety-five per cent, and those of B should average not more than five per cent, some educators, with pronounced opinions as to methods, would not be swerved from their belief that the pupils of city B were really the stronger, if they happened to believe in the methods used in B; and they would argue that the comparative strength in arithmetic, as between the pupils of two cities, could not be demonstrated by any test devised by man.

[1] I expect to be ready to present the details of this test in the October number.

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Fortunately, however, many school superintendents are taking a much more rational view of the question than they did only a few years ago. They are really anxious to know what their pupils can do in comparison with those of other cities; they appreciate that the results obtained through my tests have an important bearing on the question; and if their pupils fail they sincerely wish to know it as well as the reasons for the failure.

For all practical purposes, then, I think we have a right to declare that we can determine how the children in different cities compare with each other in certain branches as regards results; that from this standpoint we can classify the cities into good, fair, and poor; and that we can strike an average upon which we can base a reasonable demand.

But the results alone do not tell us the whole story. They merely give us, commercially speaking, an account of the articles purchased, without indicating whether good value has been received for the capital invested. The child's capital is represented by time; and whether certain results are to be lauded or condemned depends upon the amount of time expended in obtaining them. Children in all cities have about the same amount of capital at their disposal for school purposes, three hundred minutes a day; and the practical problem lies in discovering how this capital may be expended on sound economical principles, *i.e.*, without waste.

Applying this principle to arithmetic, it might be said that, if the cities devoting sixty minutes a day to the subject should secure a general average of sixty per cent, while those giving only forty minutes should obtain an average of forty per cent, all these children were receiving equal value for the capital expended. It would then become debatable whether it is well to spend one-fifth of the capital on arithmetic, or whether it is advisable to be content with less of that branch and devote part of the sixty minutes to some other subject. But if city A with its forty minutes should obtain an average of sixty per cent, while city B with its sixty minutes should secure an average of only forty per cent, then it would be evident that, for some reason or other, the children of A were not only paying thirty-three per cent less for their arithmetic than those of B, but that for the lower price they were getting a far superior article. The actual proportion as to price stated in units would be as forty to ninety. The problem lies in finding a reasonable market price.

Now my tests, which cover schools in a large number of cities, show

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without any doubt whatever that educators have no idea of price, that the results bear no relation to the time expended, that some schools pay a very high price for a very poor article, and others pay a very low price for a very good article, while all sorts of prices are paid for the identical article.

For example, in my spelling test, which was taken in nineteen cities, the variations in results were small, but the time given to the subject in different cities varied from ten to forty minutes a day. Computation showed that, taken all in all, the children did not do any better where they had spent forty minutes a day on spelling than in the schools where they had spent only ten. Or, stating the matter commercially, some children were paying a dollar for an article that other children were purchasing for twenty-five cents.

In arithmetic, as I have already indicated, the variations in results have been enormous; but while they have been very good in some cities and extremely low in others, the results have borne no relation to the time given to the branch. The schools in which the children have been making a very poor showing have devoted just as much time to the subject as the schools where the problems have been solved without any difficulty, and in some instances more. The constant cry on the part of citizens for more time to spelling and more time to arithmetic is ridiculous. Whatever the shortcomings may be, the remedy does not lie in an increase of time.

What I have said in regard to the time element in teaching is in one sense a solution of the most important educational question of the day, namely, "Can the schools cover a wide range of subjects without neglecting the essentials?" If my investigations have proved any one thing, it is that time given to a subject beyond a certain point is not rewarded by additional return, that nothing can be gained by pressure; and the indications are that all the benefit that can be obtained through instruction in the formal studies — reading, spelling, penmanship, language, and arithmetic — can be had in two hours a day at the utmost. This means that we can enrich the course of study abundantly without detriment to the three R's, and that if the results are below a reasonable standard, in any locality where a reasonable amount of time is given to the formal studies, the failure is not due to a lack of amount of instruction in these branches, but to some other cause.

But when we know what results can be accomplished and the time in which reasonable results ought to be obtained, we have simply secured the needed foundation for the study of pedagogy on the inductive

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principle. It is not enough to know that some schools are very much more successful than others; we must also try to learn the reasons why some have succeeded and others have failed, and in this way endeavor to discover certain fundamental laws of teaching which may be applied by all. Upon this matter we are all at sea to-day. There are plenty of theories, but my investigations have proved that our preconceived notions have no foundation in fact. Many elements must be taken into consideration, such as the age, nationality, heredity, and environment of the pupils, the training and personality of the teacher, the methods of instruction, the views of the superintendent, etc. But my figures prove that the influence of these factors is to-day unknown; and unless we secure a working basis it must forever remain unknown.

For example, every one seems to take it for granted that spelling is a question of heredity; but if this is the case, how is it that the highest percentage in the United States, on my test, was secured in a school where ninety-five per cent of the pupils were children of Bohemian cigar-makers? In arithmetic, the children in the slums of some cities did a great deal better than those of the best districts in others. This does not agree with our theories of environment, at least as far as arithmetic is concerned. Then, again, if all depended on the training and personality of the teacher, we should not find good results in the large majority of instances in one locality and the opposite condition in another, while the teachers may be fully as well trained and carefully selected in the one community as in the other. Nor can the difference be accounted for on the score of methods alone; as some teachers do well with certain methods, while others completely fail with them. The size of classes must also be ruled out, the results being just as liable to be favorable in large as they are in small classes. Perhaps the demands of the superintendent play an important part; and this, again, is a point calling for most careful study. The mere fact that very good results can be obtained among children whose home surroundings are of the poorest, while very inferior results are frequently found where the conditions are all that can be desired, is sufficient evidence to upset many of our previous calculations.

Now that it has been demonstrated that we have a ready means of learning with what success each teacher is meeting, and therefore a basis for studying why certain schools are successful and others are not, there ought to be no delay in taking advantage of it. But who is to do the work, and who is to pay for it?

Among the channels that at once suggest themselves are the Bureau

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of Education at Washington, the departments of pedagogy in our universities, the normal schools, and the National Educational Association. Any or all of these institutions would be suitable; but they are slow in according recognition to new ideas and in carrying them to a point of practical usefulness. I do not doubt that in due course of time the work would be taken up, officially, in one little corner, by one of the bodies I have mentioned, and would leap from it to another little corner, and that in the course of twenty-five years it would be generally recognized. But why should we wait twenty-five years? Why not act at once? If the ways of red tape and philosophy are slow, who is to compel us to employ these agencies?

But who is to further the work if not these established institutions? Why, those who are most directly interested in the schools, the people themselves. In this matter our country is fortunately situated; for the people of each community own their own schools and are free to conduct them as they choose, so that they need not wait for the goodwill of others if they desire to branch out in any progressive direction. The plan is practical and its effects are immediate, and it is therefore one for the practical people to take in hand. The people as a whole are not interested in pedagogy, because they do not understand it, and they are not in sympathy with pedagogues, because they do not understand their subtle minds. But the people are intensely interested in the schools, for the support of which they are willing to dip down into their pockets to almost any depth, with reverence, and, as a rule, without the slightest murmur. That they have never taken an intelligent interest in the schools is not their fault, but that of the educators themselves; for how can they be expected to distinguish the true from the false when the leaders in the profession do not agree as to which is the one and which the other? The system I recommend is intelligible to all; and if it should be carried into effect, laymen could take a really intelligent interest in their schools. It would give them an opportunity of knowing what returns they were getting for the capital expended, because it would enable them to learn with what success each individual teacher was meeting as compared with that of other teachers. Even people who spend money lavishly are anxious to make the best bargain for what they do spend.

Now, any community can carry out the system if the citizens are willing to pay for the special services required. While the plan is simple, it entails considerable labor; and in order that the work may be properly and systematically performed, some one must be designated to

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do it and to be held responsible for it. As the city superintendent has his hands full enough at present, a special office must be created for the purpose. To the superintendent, however, such assistance would be of great value. Upon him devolves the work of supervising teachers, and largely that of recommending their appointment or reappointment of preparing courses of study, time tables for the different grades, etc.; and in all these matters the records prepared by a special assistant would be an invaluable guide. Moreover, by repeating the tests from time to time, he would have a much clearer idea of how his recommendations were working out than he can have when he shoots at random, as he now does, and there is no one to tell him when he hits or misses the target.

Besides taking tests and tabulating results, the work of the special assistant would lie in endeavoring to account for the differences in results on the part of different teachers in his locality; and it would be the duty of the special assistant in each city to work in harmony with similar assistants in other cities, in order to account for differences in results in various branches in different localities. Under these circumstances, the children could at once receive the benefit of every new discovery. The small additional expense involved in maintaining an office of this kind should not be considered any more than people consider whether, by reason of expense, their school halls shall be illuminated with candles or electric lights. If one enterprising city will take the initiative, others will be sure to follow, just as others followed the leader in engaging a city superintendent.

Although the superintendents have shown no disposition to act upon my suggestions, there is no doubt that a vast majority of them would heartily endorse the appointment of an assistant of the kind I have mentioned. As I remarked above, many of them appear to favor my investigations; and that they approve of them is shown by the fact that, with one notable exception, they have most willingly placed their schools at my disposal. That they have done nothing to further them can be very readily accounted for by the fact that they are busy men and have not the time to carry out the tests in a systematic way.

When I speak of the attitude of the superintendents toward my work, I arrive at another anomalous state of affairs. I have discussed my plans with a large number of them, and I have been convinced of their sincerity when they have said that the work ought to be done, and that the desired data cannot be obtained in any other manner. What is remarkable is the fact that when the superintendents of the

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United States get together at their annual meetings my work is completely ignored by them. Individually they favor it and wish it to proceed, but collectively it is unknown to them. If they so desired, they could readily obtain liberal financial support for the investigations from the treasury of the National Educational Association, of which association they form the most important branch. But the educators as a body will have nothing to do with my plans, simply because they have not yet forgiven me for some of the things I said of the schools of our country in my series of articles on the Public School System of the United States, published in THE FORUM some nine years ago — October, 1892, to June, 1893.

My plan first appeared in print in my article on "Obstacles to Rational Educational Reform," which was published in THE FORUM for December, 1896; and in a way that I had not anticipated I brought it directly to the notice of the Department of Superintendence at its annual meeting in Indianapolis, in February, 1897. I had been invited to conduct a round-table discussion on the three R's, and had expected a handful of people to talk the matter over quietly and leisurely. But it so happened that the round-table turned out to be a mass meeting, including the picked educational people of the country. After a few opening remarks, I endeavored to arouse discussion on a question which I stated somewhat as follows: In some cities ten minutes a day are devoted to spelling for eight years; in others, forty. Now how can we tell at the end of eight years whether the children who have had forty minutes are better spellers than those who have had only ten?

I had expected, in this way, to draw out the ideas of those who believed in much teaching of spelling and those who believed in little of it, and thus to labor for a compromise; but, to my great surprise, the question threw consternation into the camp. The first to respond was a very popular professor of psychology engaged in training teachers in the West. He said, in effect, that the question was one that could never be answered; and he gave me a rather severe drubbing for taking up the time of such an important body of educators in asking them silly questions. I confess that he succeeded admirably in making me appear very ridiculous.

The next speaker was a prominent superintendent, with whom I was on very friendly terms. He did not like the way I had been treated and tried to come to my rescue. After this, quite a number took the platform in response to calls from the audience, and spoke on spelling in a general way; but no one attempted to answer the question. Finally,

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after about an hour and a half of aimless talking, a most embarrassing situation was relieved by a motion to adjourn coming from one of the benches.

Then followed comments among the audience which were anything but flattering to me. There was a general agreement that my meeting had been a failure. I heard one remark to the effect that the afternoon had been wasted. Another accused me of trying to lead the superintendents into a trap. The only comments which seemed to run contrary to the current were those of a well-known superintendent, who said to me, "I am not quite sure that the meeting was so very much of a failure," and of another, who said, with a smile, "We don't know anything."

I must confess that, at the time, I felt quite humiliated, and that my humiliation was not relieved when I read what some of the educational journals had to say of me. But as time moved on and distance lent enchantment, I began to view the matter in a different light; and even to-day I am not wise enough to see in what respect my question was silly or what there was in it to create a whirlwind.

However that may be, since that meeting both my name and my views have been more than ever forbidden topics by the superintendents in meeting assembled, although individually I am on terms of very good fellowship with many of these men, who, as I have intimated, will do anything for me when I visit them. After the meeting of the superintendents in 1897, the matter was not again mentioned until that in February last, when Dr. Paul H. Hanus, Professor of Education at Harvard — and therefore not one of them — came out in the strongest terms in support of my ideas. That the paper read by Prof. Hanus, in spite of its very bold challenge, was favorably received, is proved by the adoption of a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee to look into the matter. Let us hope that this committee has no convenient pigeon-holes at hand. Prof. Hanus's paper was published, in a somewhat modified form, in THE FORUM for April, under the title "Our Chaotic Education"; and to show the firm position taken by him on the points discussed in the present article, I shall quote the following passages:

> Now, just as we have not organized and adequately assimilated a generally accepted educational doctrine, so we are without a body of recorded educational experience. Results actually achieved and collectively presented constitute a force that is capable of sweeping away superficial criticism or paralyzing scepticism on the one hand, and meddlesome interference and impatient clamoring for premature results on the other. Isolated successes have been advertised, to be sure, and failures, more or less obvious, have sometimes been frankly confessed, and sometimes unwisely

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suppressed. But in neither case have we had an orderly presentation of both successes and failures over a wide area. We have had plenty of experiments; indeed, as I have intimated, our whole educational activity for nearly a generation has consisted of experiments. But we have had little coöperation. Just as every educational theorizer has worked by himself without taking due account of the labors of his fellow-workers in the same field, so every superintendent has pursued his way, apparently in blissful indifference to what his fellow-superintendents were doing, multiplying instances and varying conditions *ad libitum*. How is it possible to extract any confirmation of alleged results from such a heterogeneous procedure? And we never can get such confirmation until we abandon our absurd extreme of individualism in these experiments and work together for the attainment of the same ends.

No physicist or biologist would ignore his fellow-workers in this way. When Roentgen announced his discovery, other physicists confirmed his discovery. The facts of embryology and their bearing on the theory of evolution are similarly confirmed by each biologist under the conditions which led to their discovery. The principles of science once established in this way, no one can doubt or belittle them. Each experimenter then sees clearly what conditions must be observed to secure certain results, and the application of principles proceeds intelligently, no matter how varied the circumstances under which the application is made. So it must be in education, if we are ever to escape from the quagmire of random and isolated experimenting in which each worker seeks to find the way out for himself, disregarding the landmarks and sign-posts that have already been set up by his predecessors. Briefly, then, we must organize our educational experience just as we must organize our educational doctrine, if we are to make real progress.

Let me give two or three illustrations of what I mean. Every school system having five thousand or more children is and should be, among other things, an educational experiment station. Many a smaller one could also serve the same purpose. Suppose that in twenty-five school systems of this country the attempt were made by the superintendents acting together, under ordinary conditions of teaching and equipment, to discover just what the accomplishment in the three R's is with a given time allotment, agreement having previously been reached, for the sake of the experiment, as to the conditions under which the experiment was to be tried. Suppose the conditions to be something like this: Five hundred or a thousand pupils in each city to begin the study of arithmetic in the first year, a similar number to begin it in the second year, and a third similar group to begin it in the third year of school. At the end of the sixth year of school compare the attainments of the three groups of pupils. Would not the conclusions reached by such an experiment have a convincing value which no amount of assertion beginning "in my schools," or "so far as my experience goes," or "I believe," or "in my opinion" could possibly have? . . . I do not believe that such coöperation is impossible. Why should it be? Experiments similar to those suggested are everywhere in progress; coöperation in large enterprises of all kinds is possible. Why should it be impossible in education only?

Under such circumstances we could face the teaching profession and the general public with facts, instead of opinions. The enormous difference between the weight of these two very different things in educational affairs still remains to be experienced. . . .

The only comprehensive attempt known to the writer to secure definite information concerning the actual achievement of the schools in the school arts, with a view to establishing just how much time can be saved by suitable restriction and selection of subject-matter, was made by the editor of THE FORUM. His investigations would naturally be of great importance for any future researches that might

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be undertaken. Dr. Rice's method and results were published in THE FORUM for December, 1896, and January, February, April, and June, 1897.

One who occupies so important a position as does Prof. Hanus in the educational world could not afford to offer a challenge of this nature unless he felt quite sure of his ground. However, the scheme as he proposed it is unnecessarily drawn out and cumbersome. There is no need for our schools to undertake any new experiments just now. Innumerable experiments have been already made, and we are ready to record the results to-day. When we have waded through the mass of litter, and have established order out of our present chaos, we shall be ready to forge ahead with experiments as suggested by our past experiences; but let us first see what our experiences up to the present have taught us.

J. M. RICE.

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CHINESE EXCLUSION.

THE recent debate in the Senate on the Chinese Exclusion Bill was exceedingly fine and clear-cut. The issues between the pros and cons were distinctly defined. After a few general diatribes had been delivered against the Chinese race, the discussion settled down to a consideration of the disputed points only.

It was universally conceded, except by the senior senator from Massachusetts, that the Chinese laborer should be excluded. It was also contended very generally that we should adopt no legislative act which would violate our treaties with China. Thus, the only question before the Senate was whether the pending bill was contrary to the provisions of these treaties. The bill was drastic, and purported to codify all the statutes relating to Chinese exclusion, as well as the rules made by the Treasury Department interpreting these laws and prescribing the modes of procedure under them.

On the carefully claimed premise that no proposed legislation should violate a treaty, it was apparent that some of the clauses in the bill were untenable. If the treaties refer to laborers as the only class which is to be excluded, there would seem to be nothing remaining to do except to define the meaning of that word, and thenceforth all other classes would be admitted. Unfortunately for this construction there are in the last treaty other clauses which undertake to define affirmatively what classes may come to this country. For instance, the third clause of the treaty of December 7, 1894, reads as follows:

> The provisions of the convention shall not affect the right at present enjoyed of Chinese subjects, being officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travellers for curiosity or pleasure, but not laborers, of coming to the United States.

From this clause the Treasury officials argue that nobody except members of the classes named can come to this country. They assert that every person who does not belong to one of the above-named exempt classes is, according to the treaty, a laborer. One Attorney General has interpreted the treaties to mean that all Chinese are to be held to be laborers except officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers.

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Although this construction was greatly criticised it seems to be correct. Immediately following the clause above cited, being a part of the same paragraph, there follow these words:

> To entitle such Chinese subjects as are above described to admission in the United States they may produce a certificate either from their Government, or from the Government where they last resided, viséd by the diplomatic or consular representatives of the United States in the country, or port, whence they depart.

It thus appears that, under the terms of the treaty, only certain classes, "such as are above described," were required to have certificates, while all the other classes were left free to come to this country without having any certificate whatever, unless it were agreed that the designated classes were the only classes which could enter the United States. It cannot be possible that the framers of the treaty meant that officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers only should be required to have certificates, and that all the rest of the enormous population might come into the United States unchallenged. It therefore follows that the interpretation of our officials is the correct one, and that the treaty of 1894 does mean that laborers and all other classes are excluded except officials, teachers, students, merchants, and travellers.

This construction is supported also by the legal maxim, "expressio unius est exclusio alterius." It is stated that some courts have held to this opinion. There is nothing unreasonable in China's agreeing that all her population except certain defined classes should be excluded from a foreign country. Her form of government and the customs of her people all look toward seclusion from the rest of the world.

Some of the definitions made by the Treasury officials were untenable. A fine opportunity for ridicule was found in the definition of teachers, students, merchants, and travellers. The compiler of a dictionary would make his fortune by studying this bill. A teacher, for instance, means:

> One who, for not less than two years next preceding his application for entry into the United States, has been continuously engaged in giving instruction in the higher branches of education, and who proves to the satisfaction of the appropriate Treasury officer that he is qualified to teach such higher branches, and has completed arrangements to teach in a recognized institution of learning in the United States, and intends to pursue no other occupation than teaching while in the United States.

Perhaps the finest part of this screed is the proof of qualifications to be made to the Treasury officer. The examination of the teacher would be something like that of the colored applicant for a vote in the South who is required to expound the Constitution to an Election Board — it would hardly ever be satisfactory.

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Of all the people in China, the Chinese teacher is best known. He is in evidence everywhere. He is found in all the legations, consulates, and *hongs*. Every one occupied in China has a teacher, who does the writing for his employer, for foreigners seldom learn to write Chinese. He belongs to the class of literati, but is among those who cannot get an official appointment. From the literati come the doctors, the *yamen* runners, and the teachers. If China knew anything at all she knew what a teacher was; but, diplomatically speaking, it is evident that she knew nothing. In the above definition we have clearly got the advantage of the heathen Chinee.

China was also pretty well posted on the meaning of the word "student." She had sent a batch of thirty students to this country to be educated at our colleges. She has sent students to Japan, and is about to send some to other countries, though, possibly, not to the United States. She has many colleges. In Canton alone there are thirty. Besides, missionary colleges are common in China. In the competitive examinations she has many thousand students. And there is at least one university. But all China's knowledge of students never taught her the real meaning of the word. According to the recently pending bill it means:

> One who intends to pursue some of the higher branches of study, or to be fitted for some particular profession or occupation for which facilities for study are not afforded in the foreign country or the territory of the United States whence he comes, and for whose support while studying sufficient provision has been made, and who intends to depart from the territory of the United States immediately on the completion of his studies.

That a man should be excluded who comes to this country to learn English or the ordinary branches of education can only be accounted for by the fact that coolies sometimes pretend to be students. Our officers have become suspicious and now want to adopt the simple plan of excluding all the Chinese.

A merchant who desires to come to this country is not quite so badly off as his brother exempts, but he would have hard work to squeeze in. He must have been engaged in buying and selling merchandise at a fixed place of business, and have done no manual labor except such as his business made necessary; and if he comes from China, or from a part of our country, or a foreign country, the applicant must have been a merchant for one year, and have means at his command, and have made arrangements toward being the owner, or part owner, of a good-faith mercantile business. The Treasury officials will have no

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experiments. All the arrangements must be made beforehand. Evidently the Chinese merchant had better stay at home.

The traveller has a rather easier condition to fulfil. He must satisfy the Treasury official that he has in hand plenty of money, and that all he wants to do is to have pleasure, or to gratify his curiosity, and that he will go away as soon as he has done so.

It is understood that all these definitions are in force to-day, and it is probable that they will so remain, but they will not have behind them the sanction of a statute, because the bill thus analyzed has failed in the Senate.

This account would seem to be condemnatory of the Treasury officials; but they are no doubt perfectly honest in their interpretation of the laws and the treaties. They are confronted with the great problem of excluding laborers; and these people assume all sorts of disguises and practise all kinds of fraud for the sake of gaining entrance into our country. It cannot, nevertheless, be expected that such absurd definitions of common words as are given above can be crystallized into solemn laws. Even if an occasional laborer sneaks into the country, it cannot be expected that the Congress of the United States will gravely declare that there are no teachers except those who teach the higher branches, etc., etc.

The present law requires that all Chinese desiring to enter the United States shall procure a certificate from their own Government, which shall be viséd by a consul, stating in detail the occupation and biography of the applicant. This system, however, is not satisfactory. It throws too much work on the consuls. These officials are stationed along the sea coast or on the Yangtze. Behind them is a vast country containing four hundred millions of people. A man comes from the interior, thousands of miles away from a port, bearing a certificate signed by a Chinese superintendent of customs, which in the most minute manner purports to detail the man's former life, his birthplace, his occupation, the value of his business if he is a merchant, his family, individual, and tribal name, and many other particulars. Now how can the consul verify these statements? He would have to take proof a great distance away in the interior. If he relied on the declarations of those persons who claimed to know the man in the port, nine times out of ten he might be deceived by false testimony. It is impossible that the work of the consul in connection with viséing these certificates should be judicial, or anything more than perfunctory. In fact, the consul is forced to take the certificate of the superintendent of customs as true.

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The matter, therefore, of the admission of non-laborers passes entirely out of our hands, and is lodged in those of the Chinese officials. It is not necessary to indulge in denunciation of the want of integrity of those officials. In no country would it be right to undertake to carry out a system of exclusion by putting all the machinery of its execution in the hands of foreign officials, whose interests might be directly opposed to the purposes in view. It must be conceded that the whole system is defective, leading on the one side to the perversion of plain language, and on the other to perjury and law-breaking.

Probably the best solution of the matter at present is the Platt substitute, which keeps in force all the existing statutes until the expiration of the treaty of 1894 — that is, December 7, 1904. This delay gives us time to consider the whole subject, and to devise a better scheme of exclusion than we now have. Taught by experience, it may be safely predicted that the American people will no longer content themselves with statutes under which it can be claimed that no Chinese subjects except laborers are excluded. They will not open the door wide to Boxers, beggars, traders — all classes, in fact, that do no manual labor. The fight is a racial one rather than warfare against a class. It certainly will not do to throw this country, or its dependencies, wide open to all classes except laborers. Few men in this country, except those whose interests in some form are antagonized by exclusion, believe that this immigration is desirable. It is generally conceded that it is a permanent menace to our civilization.

The stubbornness of the Chinese, their segregation by themselves in all communities, their absolute denegation of all interest in public affairs, their inveterate hoarding of their gains, the cheapness of their living, their ignorance and superstitions—these are some of the things which particularly distinguish them, and which make them undesirable immigrants. They never have become assimilated with any foreign community, and the same objections that we make to them are current in Hongkong, Singapore, Colombo, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and everywhere that they have settled. Their great numbers are also against them. Had it not been for the most energetic efforts of the people on the Pacific slope the civilization of that region would have been wrecked. At fifty-five dollars a head, while transportation costs only five dollars, the steamship companies would have conveyed millions of immigrants to our shores. Let us remember what was done in sending coolies from Macao to South America until the civilized world broke up the trade. The labor question is only one branch of the gen-

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eral subject. The interest of our workingman is the interest of all other classes. To supplant our own laborers by those who work for a few cents a day would involve all branches of business in a common ruin.

But what we do we should do openly and honorably, and not under cover of a strained interpretation of words. We should declare that a certain number of students may come to this country, as well as a certain number of merchants, and a certain number of other classes if desirable, and the remainder should be excluded. Surveillance should be exercised over the persons so admitted in order that they might not become laborers. Our trade relations with China are promising, and they ought not to be disturbed by the enactment of unnecessary and unjust laws. A respectable Chinese merchant engaged in business in China and desirous of doing business with the United States should be encouraged to come to this country and to buy supplies here. If we are to lose our trade with China, one of the main objects of acquiring the Philippines will be defeated.

South Carolina and Alabama owe the remarkable development of their cotton manufacture to China. Their coarse sheeting finds a market there, especially in Manchuria, where the climate is cold. If these mills were driven to manufacture lighter goods, their products would in a great measure compete with those of New England. In South Carolina there were in 1900 eighty mills, with a capital of $39,258,964, employing 30,201 wage-earners, and turning out products valued at $29,723,914. Of the export demand for these products sixty per cent goes to China. Our whole export trade with China last year amounted to $28,000,000. Of course, we should do nothing to imperil this trade, but should on the other hand seek to increase it.

I do not believe, however, that any disastrous result would follow from our adherence to the doctrine of exclusion which has become our settled policy. The Chinese Government relegates all questions of trade to the merchants. It takes no interest in such questions, and it cannot understand why the foreign powers are eternally talking about trade.

Owing chiefly to the interest which the missionaries and their friends take in Chinese matters, it is the fashion to be very sympathetic with that country — even since the terrible riots of 1900. It is pretended that the Chinese are exceedingly liberal to foreigners. The truth is that every right that the foreigner has in China has been acquired by the use of arms. Nothing has been conceded except to force. The wars carried on by Great Britain alone, and afterward by France allied with her, were the instrumentalities which opened up China to foreign trade.

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If we leave out the Christian converts, the foreigners have no friends in China. Two years ago the Government and the people joined in a terrible effort to massacre all the foreigners. They succeeded in murdering 240 of the men and women who had devoted their lives to the service of China, and they barely failed to kill all the foreigners in the Northern provinces who were beleaguered in the British Legation and the Peitang.

Even now the Chinese have in some respects more rights in our country than we have in theirs. They have no extra-territorial judicial system here as we have in all non-Christian countries, except Japan; but once in our borders they can go where they please in forty-five States and half a dozen Territories, while the foreigner — except the missionary — can reside nowhere except in the treaty ports. Their lives, too, are safe here except on rare occasions. No class is arrayed against them except the labor class. In China, riots are the order of the day. Not long ago there were twenty-two in one year. The bloody riots at Tientsin and Kutien will never be forgotten. Who believes that foreign life is safe in China to-day? Who puts any faith in a government which since 1858 has been bound by the most solemn treaties to protect the foreigner, but has rarely made any attempt to do so? Who denies that if the Chinese Government had so willed, foreign life would have been as safe in the interior as Chinese life has been in Indiana? Riot after riot and murder after murder have disgraced the annals of China for fifty years. The viceroys, the governors, and the magistrates have scarcely raised a hand to stop the vicious, murderous throngs which, passing by their *yamens* and through the ranks of Chinese soldiers, have perpetrated the most detestable crimes. Always the diplomatic corps presses for the punishment of delinquent officials; and it was only when six nations sent troops to China that an official ever was properly punished.

In spite of all this we must see to it that our own legislation concerning China conforms with our own ideas of propriety, morality, and justice. Possibly, taught by terrible experience, she may conform herself hereafter to the usages of civilized nations, and then she will receive from the foreign powers the treatment which civilized governments accord to each other.

CHARLES DENBY.

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GERMANY AS A WORLD POWER.

WHEN Bismarck retired, twelve years ago, Germany was no world power. She was a country which, in a military sense, was considered preëminent in Europe, and which, by reason of the tripartite agreement between her, Austria, and Italy, filled a leading position, in a political sense, on the Continent. But a world power she was not. The very word had not then been coined. It was before the series of startling events that has since transformed the whole situation in the Far East, and has brought Japan and China into the family of nations as potent factors. It was before the Spanish-American war, which, in two hemispheres, projected the United States into the very midst of the political arena. There have seldom been ten years in the world's history which have wrought such radical changes, changes of such far-reaching importance, as those since 1892. The world at large has as yet scarcely gained the right focus for viewing those momentous happenings. Next to this country it is Germany that has most largely profited from the new situation.

It was the Kaiser who was the first in Germany to speak of his nation as a world power. It was in one of the most felicitous speeches he ever made — on the launching of a gigantic ocean greyhound — that he used the term. He did not define his meaning of the word except by inference, but he was generally understood. What he meant was that Germany, transformed into one of the three leading exporting and naval powers, expansive as a shipping and colonial nation, and rapidly growing as an industrial and manufacturing centre, must needs enlarge her mental horizon, and reckon not only with her continental neighbors, not only with Europe, but with the whole globe as a competitor, customer, friend, or foe. She must extend her political and commercial influence all over the world, and must have ships on every sea as well as merchants in every port. As the Kaiser expressed the same idea, on a later occasion, in graphic, though somewhat boastful, language: "Nothing must be done anywhere on the globe without the sanction of Germany's ruler."

This, in a nutshell, is his conception of Germany as a world power.

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It found, of course, no unanimous assent, either in Germany or in other countries. There were then many in Germany, as there are many now, who deemed his aims too extravagant and the means of their realization — comprising, above all, a big navy and a bolder and more assertive foreign policy — not in accord with the Empire's best interests. The whole Liberal party in Germany and a number of leaders among the Government supporters are opposed to him on this point. But the Kaiser, as is well understood by all who know the Germany of to-day, is masterful. He contrives to impose his will and his ambitions on the nation he rules, and that part of it which is dominant in politics has been in the main won over to his ideas. Thus, for weal or woe, Germany has embarked on the troubled seas of the new policy outlined by him, then and since, in a number of forceful and picturesque speeches.

The first outcome of the Kaiser's world policy was Germany's share in the winding-up of the Chino-Japanese war, when she joined Russia and France in wresting out of Japan's grasp the prize won by the sword. It is a question whether that was a wise step for Germany to take. For one thing, it drove Japan into England's arms, and made that pushing Eastern nation hostile to Germany. This is a fact which is of great importance to a power having serious and growing interests in Far Asia. Next, Germany played her part in the Turco-Greek war, particularly in its settlement; and she played her part well, obtaining afterward from Turkey the big railway concession in the Euphrates valley and other benefits. In the Cretan trouble she purposely refrained from doing more than was absolutely necessary to maintain her prestige; but yet she did a great deal more than Bismarck would have done under similar circumstances. She again used her opportunities well during and shortly after the Spanish-American war, when she seized upon Kiao-Chou, thus securing for herself a point of leverage in China. She then acquired, by right of purchase, the Carolines, and, by amicable settlement with this country and England, the main portion of the Samoan isles. She has not been successful — except in one instance, at the mouth of the Indian Ocean, by an understanding with Turkey — in her strenuous efforts to acquire coaling stations at convenient points along the main road to Far Asia, though her need in that respect is both palpable and urgent. In Africa her latent designs to extend her sphere of influence have not recently been favored by opportunity. Her domains there are, for the most part, arid and susceptible of but small development, or, as in the case of Togo and the Cameroons, unfit for European habitation by reason of a murderous climate. Her intention of buying from Spain the

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important island of Fernando Po, thus making her Cameroons possession twice as valuable, has for the time miscarried. Nothing at all to Germany's advantage has resulted from England's Boer war, although she fully expected something. In China, too, the implied monopoly of commercially exploiting the province of Shantung — one of the best Chinese provinces for mineral and railroad development — which was granted to Germany in her agreement with China ceding Kiao-Chou, has come to naught. Both this country and England have vigorously opposed German pretensions in this respect, on the principle of the "open door," and have thus deprived Germany of the chance of extensively fructifying her bargain with China and treating Shantung as her exclusive domain. These and other reasons tend to keep Germany in her Chinese policy on the side of France and Russia, the two countries which, for strong reasons of their own, favor the policy of recognizing a chain of "separate interest spheres," with a view to the eventual dismemberment of the huge Empire.

From the above statement it is plain that Germany, during her brief career as a world power, has had a fair measure of success, as well as some reverses. The opportunities that came to her were boldly and adroitly used. But the question nevertheless arises: Will Germany for any length of time be able to maintain herself as a world power? And further, will she be able to contend successfully in the fierce struggle for naval, colonial, and commercial expansion, without allies or at least strong friends? The question may well be asked, for, during the long troubles in China, Germany became for the first time painfully aware that in her world policy she stood without friends. Again and again, at crucial moments of that long occupation of Chinese territory, it was brought home to Germany, though she it was of all the powers interested in that punitive campaign that had been most terribly affronted, that her interests ran parallel to none other. It was only with the utmost diplomatic effort that she succeeded in obtaining a sort of *amende honorable* from China.

What, then, are Germany's points of weakness and strength as a world power? To know that is virtually an answer to the foregoing two questions.

It requires commercial, naval, and military preëminence to be and remain a world power. In some cases, due to exceptionally favorable geographical conditions, military supremacy may be, to a certain extent, dispensed with. This is true of both England and the United States, and it is a generally acknowledged fact that does not seem to require

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elaborate explanation. But for Germany to maintain herself as a world power there is no exception to the rule. Situated as she is in the very heart of Europe, surrounded on every side by powerful and ambitious nations, military supremacy is indispensable.

In that respect she does not disappoint her friends. Germany still stands foremost in military power. The enormous prestige she won in 1870–71 holds good. But she has not supinely rested on her laurels all these thirty years. Her army is to-day in every respect far superior to that with which she vanquished the French. Enormous improvements have been made in the commissariat, in the physical training of her soldiers, in their *morale* even; and her telegraph, telephone, railway construction, and aëronautic departments are considered the best extant. The general staff of her army is the unapproached model for the whole world. There has also been a great increase in numbers. The peace establishment of Germany's army is to-day larger than the vast host of 600,000 men, a number up to that time unprecedented, which Napoleon I led to the conquest of Russia in 1812. And her armies on a war footing amount to a grand total of 5,788,000 men and of 250,000 officers. With these figures she has left France far in the rear, and exceeds even Russia's nominal total by 600,000. It is safe to say that Germany alone, from the purely military viewpoint, is to-day more than a match for the combined forces of France and Russia; taking, of course, into due account the much greater actual efficiency of the German army when compared with those of her two principal military rivals. In the history of the world there has never been any such surpassingly powerful fighting machine as the German army of to-day.

As to the next point, namely, naval power, Germany is, however, neither in prestige — which, in fact, is totally lacking in her case — nor in actual strength on a par with England or France. In fact, for the time being she stands but fourth in the list, Russia at least nominally exceeding her in the number of vessels. So far Germany has not had a chance, such as, for instance, this country had a few years ago, to demonstrate her actual naval fighting strength; the only naval skirmish in the Franco-German war, in West Indian waters, having amounted to little.

There are, however, a number of facts which, in the absence of any practical test on a large scale, tend to show partly what the German navy at this time really amounts to, and partly what it will mean in the near future. As to the first point, the unanimous opinion of those naval experts, no matter of what nationality, who have had a chance to examine

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carefully the working of the German navy, is to the effect that in general efficiency, in discipline, and in spirit, the men and officers have no superiors, and that the ships, as fighting machines for harbor and coast defence and for battle on the open seas, are first-class. To mention, out of the mass of this favorable opinion, just two cases, both American, I shall cite Admiral Evans and Commander Beehler, the United States naval attaché in Berlin. Both deem the German navy in all essential points, excepting size, equal to the English and superior to the French. That German characteristic, thoroughness, has been brought to bear upon the German navy, both as to men and ships, with wonderful results. The men are trained to a degree unknown in any other navy, not excepting the American. The practice, inaugurated by the Kaiser since his accession, of annually holding big naval manœuvres, in all respects closely resembling actual naval warfare, has been of immense benefit in this respect, and their considerable cost has been a wise expenditure.

That is the verdict of competent judges as to the German navy of to-day. But the real German navy, *i.e.*, that now in process of formation, will be a vastly different and more formidable affair. A plan of enlargement was adopted by the Reichstag, two years ago, at the urgent solicitation of the Kaiser, and has thus become an organic law of the Empire, not subject to fluctuations of public opinion. The enormous sums needed for the purpose, amounting in all to over $250,000,000, have been appropriated, in annual instalments, by the same national parliament. The scheme provides for the more than doubling of the present size of the German navy, and for the remodelling and modernizing of about a score of the old vessels — those of the so-called "Sachsen" and "Oldenburg" classes or types. The transformation is to be completed, according to the wording of the law, by 1915; but it is an open secret that the rate of construction has been much accelerated, so that the year 1910 will probably see the young naval giant in readiness. When completed, at any rate, the German navy will consist of thirty-seven battle-ships — the number at present is fifteen — comprising twenty-seven of the largest and most powerful type, eight of the second size, and two smaller ones; twenty-six armored cruisers, ten large and sixteen smaller ones; thirty-two sea-going gunboats, averaging 350 tons each; and fourteen big armored vessels for coast and harbor defence. The total equipment will be 109 fighting vessels, manned by 55,000 seamen and marines, with 74,000 naval reserves, and, for batteries, 586 heavy guns and 2,836 secondary and machine guns. This navy will be equal in the three points mentioned — namely, number and tonnage of

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vessels, men, and guns — to the present French navy, with the enormous advantage, however, of being new, up to date, and equipped with all the most recent improvements. Germany would then be, unless France should follow in her footsteps, of which there does not seem to be any likelihood at present, the second sea-power in the world.

Her merchant marine consists now of 4,108 vessels, with a total tonnage of 2,826,400 tons, and crews aggregating 50,556 men. One-third of these vessels are steamships. This shows an increase of fifty per cent during the last decade, and puts Germany, so far as the ocean traffic goes, in the second place; though, if we include our lake shipping, the American merchant marine would be far ahead of Germany.

In population Germany is gaining rapidly as well. The official census of December, 1900, gives her 56,345,014, a gain of over four millions since 1895, or eight per cent within five years.

As the last, and most important, of Germany's qualifications as a world power, her commerce must be mentioned. The figures I quote are from German official statistics. According to them she imported during 1900 a total of 49,491,400 tons, valued at 6,043,000,000 marks. She exported 36,318,100 tons, worth 4,752,600,000 marks. Of her imports the United States furnished 1,020,000,000 marks' worth, while of her exports 912,000,000 marks' worth went to England. These two countries do most business with her; American imports furnishing over one-sixth of the total, and English exports about one-fifth. Since 1891, when German imports amounted to 4,403,000,000 marks, this branch of her foreign trade has increased over 25 per cent, while the exports, which in 1891 were 3,339,000,000, have since risen by about 30 per cent. Her transmarine export trade has grown at an even greater ratio. It amounted in 1900 to 2,634,000,000 marks, or over 56 per cent of the total, being an increase of about 40 per cent since 1891. The bulk of her transmarine exportations being finished products, this is, therefore, the most profitable section of her trade. Even the severe financial depression that set in about eighteen months ago, and whose effects are still noticeable, has not been able to check the commercial growth of Germany; for the advance figures for her total exports and imports during 1901, although but approximate, show but a slight falling off against the preceding year.

Summarizing, then, Germany's claims to consideration as a world power, it is seen that her military supremacy is undeniable. She has, as shown above, an efficient navy, which she is now transforming into the second largest in the world, and which, to confine myself strictly to

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the present, is about thirty per cent stronger than the American navy. Her commerce is steadily growing, and is the second largest in imports and exports, though by no means in domestic trade, in which point this country leads the world. Germany has also some traits in her national character which constitute undeniable advantages. Her people, as traders, bring into play a more thorough education than either the English or the Americans possess. Her mercantile colleges fit out young and intelligent men with all the mental equipment they need — not only languages, but a reliable knowledge of foreign countries, men, and methods. The custom, so largely prevailing for many years in large German exporting houses, of sending out young relatives or clerks to countries that are their main customers, to study the field on the spot for a term of years — often, too, settling them there permanently as their representatives — is a wise one. It enables the home firm to be correctly, closely, and quickly informed of everything that will be of use to it.

Then, too, German patience, frugality, and adaptability are of great use to Germany in her transmarine trade relations. Where the Englishman often persists in methods no longer successful in certain countries, and where the American wants big and quick profits, the German, by the exercise of the above qualities, frequently carries off the prize. The German exporter studies to please his foreign customer, sinking his own tastes and predilections in favor of those of the distant purchaser. Again, he accommodates himself to the often rather unsatisfactory modes of payment obtaining in many foreign lands, giving long credits, etc. Of course, his linguistic knowledge likewise plays an important part in giving him a better status with the natives. This is particularly true in the case of Spanish-speaking countries.

All these are points of strength. Germany's points of weakness, however, also fill a considerable list. First, politically considered, Germany's foreign policy is now in a bad way. The Dreibund is visibly crumbling. It is absolutely necessary for Germany to make friends with either the United States or England, or with both. Let this be understood plainly. Germany, without such a close and friendly understanding, will be, in the long run, powerless. Her rôle as a world power will be over and done with. The reasons are clear to anybody who will take the trouble to see patent facts. Germany is losing Austria and Italy as hard-and-fast allies. No one who has watched political events during the last ten years doubts that. She is thus practically isolated. And Germany cannot, like England, afford a term of "splendid isolation." The contingency of which Bismarck spoke in his Memoirs, and which,

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according to that book, was his "nightmare," has arrived. A repetition of the old Triple Alliance, composed of Austria, France, and Russia, has become a strong possibility. By that it is not meant that such an alliance is likely to come immediately. In fact, the present Austrian monarch is too loyal to lend his aid in forming such a political combination, unless vital interests of his monarchy are at stake; but he is aged, and it is certain that his successor has never shown any German sympathies, and that he is strongly influenced by his Czech wife. Accordingly, later on a radical change may be expected in Austria-Hungary's foreign policy; and the old Kaunitz alliance, which once came near wiping out Prussia's political existence, may be revived. Bismarck gave expression to this conviction on several occasions during the last years of his life, and he also, as mentioned above, recorded it in his Memoirs.[1]

Even if the Dreibund were not in a state of decay, but still in its pristine vigor, that would not help Germany in her position as a world power. Austria's interests are purely continental, and her foreign commerce is insignificant. Her navy is not worth serious consideration. Italy, besides being financially, as well as in size and population, the weakest of the great powers, is absolutely in no position to further Germany's ambitions in other parts of the world. Of late years, too, she has committed herself to a policy of retrenchment, and in pursuance of it both her army and navy have been reduced. She is building few new ships. Since her Abyssinian reverses, Italy's foreign policy has become wholly defensive, and merely directed to the maintenance of the *status quo*. For her freedom to plough the seas and maintain her trade, she relies on her recent friendly understanding with France, and for the preservation of present conditions in the Mediterranean, on her old-time friendship with England.

Thus her two allies are both unable and unwilling to embark with Germany on her policy as a world power. This has been proclaimed of late in positive language in the three Parliaments by the leading statesmen of the old Dreibund powers. Now, to whom else can Germany turn in her absolute need of obtaining guarantees against a possible interruption of her expansive commercial and colonial policy?

To Russia and France? Certainly not. Those two powers must be left out of such a reckoning. For while it is quite within Germany's ability to enter into a definite understanding with either or both of them, at a given time and for a given purpose — as she did, for instance, with Russia and France toward the close of the Chino-Japanese war, and with

[1] Part II., p. 229, etc.

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France in Africa, where Germans and French, for the first time in several centuries, were fighting shoulder to shoulder to checkmate a British advance — it is quite out of the question that an agreement of a general nature can be made between Germany on the one side and Russia and France on the other. Still less is it possible for Germany to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with these two powers, even as to interests in Asia or Africa. Leaving aside the fact that Russia and France are together strong enough to carry out, in most cases, their colonial, political, and commercial schemes in those continents as well as in Europe, and therefore want no third power to share in their course of action and to influence it, it must never be forgotten that the Dual Alliance was originally based on a common enmity toward Germany, and that Russia knows full well that to try to admit Germany to the benefits of this agreement would eventually mean to drive away France. Admitting that the reasons for France's unwillingness in this respect are largely sentimental, and that to-day sentiment is rarely the ruling factor in statecraft, still the sentiment impelling France on her road, side by side with Russia, is very strong. By systematic training during the past thirty years this has become a part of the French nature and of the national creed — in fact, the very first paragraph in it.

But there are other reasons militating against an intimate understanding between Germany and these two countries. Germany's main object in Asia is the extension of her export traffic and the acquiring of points of vantage along the coasts — coaling stations for her navy, a number of *pieds à terre* for her troops, and radiating points for her commerce. There is hardly a point, however, where, in carrying out her designs, she would not run counter to important French or Russian interests. There are but a few such points left, excepting some belonging to Portugal, that are not in possession of either Russia and France, England, or the United States. Russia and France have vast Asiatic possessions with which they do not want Germany to interfere, and which they desire to monopolize commercially. This policy of commercial monopolization, unwise though it may be for countries strong in industry and commerce, is probably the only one for Russia to pursue; and though the wisdom of it is less apparent in the case of France, it is the one which the latter country has traditionally held as part of her colonial policy.

There is no other important power with which Germany could unite in an endeavor to extend and maintain her world policy as against that of Russia and France, on the one side, and England and the United States, on the other. I group England and the United States together, for there

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is no use in denying the fact that the overwhelming public opinion of both countries wishes such a grouping, and even takes it for granted. True, there is no formal alliance between the two English-speaking powers, nor could there well be under existing political conditions. But there is something stronger than that — a powerful and steady national sentiment on both sides, whose current runs in the direction of mutually safeguarding vital interests.

Wherever the living forces that eventually shape the politics of the world are closely and calmly studied, it must be recognized that Germany is too weak — or, I shall say, not powerful enough — to undertake and pursue unaided her policy as a world power. England alone would be powerful enough to drive her off the seas at any time that the vital interests of England and Germany seriously clashed. England and the United States together could accomplish that task with less trouble and expense. England with her colonies and the United States with her colonies together form the most important item in Germany's foreign commerce — about one-third of the total. Germany could not for a moment stand as a world power against the combined will of England and the United States. These two powers, in fact, would be, as foes, the most dangerous of all to Germany's life interests. It is Germany's wisest course — nay, more, it is Germany's only possible course — to bind these two countries to herself by ties of strong friendship. I shall not speak here of the strong sentimental reasons which ought to impel Germany in this direction, although these are, and ought to be, potent factors. But judging the situation solely from the viewpoint of enlightened self-interest, it is the only possible solution for her if she means to continue her world policy. And if there is anything that may be declared with safety about the Kaiser's future course of action, it is that he *does* mean to persevere in it. However, it is an open secret that the Kaiser has for some time clearly perceived that a close understanding with England and the United States is Germany's safest policy, and that he has been shaping his course accordingly. But the fact, nevertheless, remains that as yet no such intimate friendship has been contracted with those two powers — certainly not with England.

This present isolation of Germany as a world power forms, then, the chief weakness of the young Empire from the political point of view.

Germany's commercial weakness lies partly in the fact that both her natural resources and her financial powers are inferior to those of England and the United States, and to a certain degree even to those of France. Germany's per capita wealth is much lower than that of the three coun-

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tries named. She is economical and cautious, but she has also the faults of these virtues — a serious matter when contending for the commercial supremacy of the world. In addition, her trade conditions are no longer stable, but fluctuate greatly, as export trade must and will. Her chief staples for manufacturing — coal and iron — are not as advantageously located as those of her two main competitors. As compared particularly with this country, the German nation does not possess that quick perception, that boldness and originality of methods and execution, which, since Americans seriously set out on their career as great exporters, have been universally recognized as among their chief points of strength. Nor is inventiveness a leading German characteristic, as it is an American one.

Germany's geographical position, too, is a decided element of weakness. As regards sea trade with the main European countries, she is not so advantageously situated as England. She lies "cooped up" far to the northeast; and to gain the open water tradeways she has first to skirt for days a dangerous coast, both in the Baltic and the North Sea, where her vessels, in time of war, are especially liable to seizure and search. It costs a great deal more to move a ton of goods by sea from German harbors than from English, French, or even Spanish ports. Germany is not so near to the Atlantic as her chief rivals. As to the Pacific — which is conceded to be the avenue of trade which in the near future will become of almost equal importance with the Atlantic — Germany is again placed at a distinct disadvantage. The Nicaragua Canal will intensify this. The difference of distance, as between German harbors and the principal Atlantic ports of this country, to China, Japan, and some other points in the Pacific, will amount to between 3,000 and 4,500 miles, once the Nicaragua Canal has been completed. This will hereafter render German competition in the carrying trade to that quarter of the globe more and more difficult.

There is one other important obstacle in Germany's way as a world power. That is, however, of a domestic character, and its name is the Agrarian party. To humor this party, the present German cabinet has submitted to the Reichstag a tariff bill framed chiefly with a view to satisfying that party's demands for a tariff enabling the German agriculturist to compete with imports of American foodstuffs on better terms than those now obtaining. If the bill becomes law, now or later, it will go far to weaken Germany's position as a world power, for it will increase the price of the necessaries of life for the laboring population, and hence must lead to an increase of wages, which in turn will heighten the cost

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of German articles of export. This, put in a few words, is the gist of the matter; and it will be of great interest to the rest of the world to watch the outcome of this struggle in Germany between the mediæval forces of her landed and titled proprietor class and the modern forces of her commerce and industry. For the final result will either greatly handicap Germany in her race with other nations or else remove a serious obstacle from her path.

Striking a sort of general balance, therefore, in the matter of Germany's weakness and strength as a world power, there seem to be, just at this juncture in the world's affairs, more points that tell against her than for her. Her old-time military preëminence, while it renders her position secure at home, as against the continental powers of Europe, cannot win for her that amount of strategical advantage and safety on the ocean and on foreign coasts which, as an exporting world power, she absolutely needs to safeguard her against the vicissitudes of the future. Her navy, required to back up her sea trade, will be, for the next ten years, in a transition stage. If left undisturbed to work out this transformation, and if the other leading naval powers do not imitate her example, she will in 1910 or thereabouts be a sea power only less formidable than England, and equal or superior to France. But England, it must be remembered, stands committed to the professed policy of maintaining a naval superiority on the basis of being able to cope at any time with a possible naval combination between France, Russia, and Germany. Germany's serviceable Baltic Canal, enabling her navy to concentrate, at any time and within a couple of days, in either the German Ocean or the Baltic, has given the young Empire, on the other hand, a great tactical advantage over both Russia and France, the configuration of whose coasts does not permit of such concentration, and even to some extent over England, whose vast coast development and widely scattered colonial interests admit of no such massing of all her naval resources.

But even if left to reap the fruits of her wise and far-sighted naval policy, Germany would not be strong enough to stand, so to speak, on her own naval bottom. The necessity remains for her to make sure in time of at least one other strong naval power as a friend.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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SIR WALTER BESANT.[1]

THE late Sir Walter Besant did well to leave an autobiography, for at least one reason. He was a novelist of sufficiently high rank to make it practically certain that some one would write a biography of him consisting in large measure of a discussion of his many novels and of how he came to compose them. The value of such a book, if we may judge from very recent examples, would have been questionable. On the other hand, whatever his merits as a novelist, Sir Walter Besant was a most interesting man, both on account of his varied and useful life and of his very positive and individual opinions; and no biographer could have set the opinions, at least, before the world so thoroughly and vividly. We have, therefore, in this autobiography, despite its defects, probably the best memorial of Sir Walter that it was possible to obtain.

If he had lived longer it would have been a better memorial and a much better book. We are told by Mr. Sprigge that the manuscript was left in a partially corrected state, but that it had not been typewritten or subjected to anything like final revision. It appears that the earlier chapters are nearer than the later to what the author purposed; but we are permitted to believe that had he been allowed to give the finishing touches, he would not have inserted the solid pages from his early novels which his editor has felt bound to print entire, and that he would have so modified the expression though not the substance of his opinions, on religious topics, that they would have caused less offence to sensitive readers than they are now almost sure to give. This is but to say that Sir Walter's Autobiography, while interesting and valuable, is incomplete, unpolished, and in no sense a work of great or even considerable literary art. The book one naturally compares it with is the Autobiography of Anthony Trollope; and it suffers in the comparison, if my memory of that delightful book be not, after the lapse of years, entirely at fault.

Walter Besant was born on August 14, 1836, at Portsea, a part of

[1] AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR WALTER BESANT. With a Prefatory Note by S. Squire Sprigge. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902.

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Portsmouth. He came of good middle-class stock; his father being a decidedly original character, and his mother, from whom he derived his talents, an admirable one. His main childish occupation, besides reading, seems to have been to sport on those fortifications described later in "By Celia's Arbour," but probably more familiar to lovers of Jane Austen as the scene of a walk taken by Fanny Price and Henry Crawford. In after-years he did not recall with so much pleasure the hours he spent in church, although he seems not to have minded greatly the narrow evangelical sermons that damned nine-tenths of the human race. Even as a youngster he had outgrown the creed professed by his elders, and had formed a habit of day-dreaming while the good preacher exhorted. This was probably well for the future novelist; not so well, many will think, for the future man, who was not to enter a church more than once or twice during a period of thirty years. The moral to be drawn from the chapter in which Sir Walter records the untoward religious experiences of his boyhood is plain enough, but of less use in this liberal day than it would have been two decades ago. It is hard to believe that such dogmatism and lack of charity could have been found in England ten years after the accession of Queen Victoria; yet one does not need to be very old to be able to recall religious conditions in parts, at least, of this country that mildly resembled those against which kindly Sir Walter Besant bore so deep a resentment.

His resentment was not so intense against the educational conditions under which he grew to manhood; but his account of the training he received at a grammar school in a London suburb, at King's College, London, and even at Christ's College, Cambridge, will open the eyes of young Americans to their own great advantages. At the school he learned some mathematics; made but slight progress, if any, in the classics, for which he had an aptitude; and picked up French and German through his private reading. Of the sciences and history he seems to have been taught nothing, and of the English branches but little. Athletics scarcely existed for him; but he wandered through the suburbs and through the city proper, enjoying Little Britain because Washington Irving had written about it, and looking around for the residences of interesting personages whose acquaintance he had made through the kind offices of Charles Dickens. Better training for the future novelist and topographer of London could scarcely have been had; perhaps Sir Henry Irving, who attended the same school, may have profited also; but it seems as if the hundreds of other boys might have fared much better under a more intelligent system.

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Yet when young Besant, captain of his school, passed in October, 1854, to King's College, he derived little benefit from the change. It was a stronghold of orthodoxy in which he found himself, rather than a temple of the Muses. One stimulating lecturer presented English history and literature in an attractive fashion; but the main ideal held up before the students was that of advancement in the hierarchy of the Established Church. In view of the ecclesiastical character of the institution there appears to have been remarkably little effort on the part of the authorities to supervise the conduct of their youthful pupils. Besant lodged with a brother, who was probably supposed to look after him; but his own innocence seems to have been his only guardian angel. In the evening the silence and loneliness in which he worked "got on his nerves," to employ his expressive phrase, and he sought recreation in the streets and in worse places, but fortunately suffered no harm. Years later he wrote:

> There are thousands of young fellows to-day who find, as I found every evening, the silence and loneliness intolerable. If I were a rich man I would build colleges for these young fellows, where they could live together, and so keep out of mischief.

At King's College Besant carried off prizes, and began his career as an author by writing verses which he then thought great, but later regarded merely as good exercises for the prose-writer that was to be. Yet the glamour of poetry never ceased to affect him. At sixty-three he wrote: "Of all the men of our century I would rather have been Tennyson than any other man whatever"—a somewhat narrow and insular desire, perhaps, but assuredly not devoid of nobility.

At Cambridge his career was creditable, but the condition of the university as a whole had not greatly profited from the advance made by the world at large during the first half of the nineteenth century. "I believe," writes Sir Walter referring to this period, "the scholarship and science of Cambridge were a laughing-stock on the Continent." The lazy dons had pupils worthy of them — "wholly ignorant of the world, of society, of literature, of everything." Allowing for exaggeration, we may still conclude that Cambridge was not an ideal place for a young undergraduate who intended to take orders. But, fortunately, Besant's own college, Christ's, had been revolutionized by the activity of Gunson, a tutor who came of those Cumberland "statesmen" of whose virtues readers of Wordsworth will have a good idea. As a result, Christ's turned out some very able men in the fifties and sixties — among them Calverley and Sir John Seeley. The former took Besant under his protection, and it is not unlikely that the more pedestrian writer owed some

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of his later success to the inspiration derived from the more brilliant one. But although the glimpses we get of Calverley lend much interest to the chapter in which Sir Walter describes his university career, some readers will remember it rather for the unpleasant picture it gives of an institution of learning devoting itself to wholesale consumption of beer and port wine. They should bear in mind, however, that a strong character often gains strength from temptations such as surrounded Besant, and that he himself concluded, when reviewing his life, that "the effect of Cambridge upon the youth of the time was wholly and unreservedly beneficial."

After graduating, the young man looked about for a while and then accepted the post of mathematical master in Leamington College, it being understood that he was to be ordained and become chaplain to the school. He was not born to fill either position — a fact which accounts for his passing lightly over his experiences at Leamington and devoting several pages to a walking tour taken in Switzerland with Calverley and other friends. On his return to the town that had so pleased Hawthorne a few years before, he found that his ordination could not be postponed. Reluctantly, knowing that "the white tie would choke" him, he put himself in communication with his Bishop, when suddenly "a door of release was thrown open." A friend offered him the choice of one of two colonial professorships. He preferred Mauritius to South Africa, because he did not like snakes; forgot to send his excuses to the Bishop of Worcester; and, rejoicing that no one would now ask whether he was "sound on the Atonement," hastened on board the P. and O. steamer *Indus*.

The chapter entitled "L'Île de France" is one of the most interesting in the book. As the editor, Mr. Sprigge, points out, here and elsewhere Sir Walter's modesty prevents him from emphasizing his own achievements. It is also obvious that with a little more pains he could have made his description of his tropical life still more delightful. As it is, he manages to charm our imaginations by sketching a mode of existence which would probably soon weary most of us, as it did him, if we had to try it. He gives also very entertaining sketches of the queer assortment of professors that made up the school faculty. He shows moderation and charity in his account of his troubles with the impossible rector, who was an ex-Austrian lieutenant profoundly ignorant of books, entrusted by the sapient Colonial Office with the charge of a school in a colony almost completely French. A commission was appointed to investigate matters, and, with the fatuity to be expected

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under such circumstances, restored the rector. Besant claimed a year's furlough, and returned to England in 1867; but within a few months he had the pleasure of declining the rectorship, which the reinstated ex-lieutenant had not been able to keep.

His six and a half years of colonial life had been far from wasted. He had studied Old French, thus securing the special knowledge that was to gain him an entrance to the world of letters; he had mastered Balzac and George Sand; and, finally, by composing essays and a poor novel which he afterward burned, he had acquired a fair ability to write English prose.

On his return journey Besant spent a fortnight at Cape Town, which he found a much sleepier place than it was when, more than thirty years later, he described his brief visit. He also had the chance to stop at St. Helena and see Longwood. Then, after more varied experiences than fall to the share of most men whose destiny makes them authors, he found himself at the age of thirty-one beginning life over again. He was almost forgotten, but he set bravely to work to make a place for himself. In the fall of 1868 he published a volume of studies on the older French poets, which was successful for a book of its kind. A few months before he had had the better fortune to be elected secretary to the Society for the Systematic and Scientific Exploration of Palestine. This gave him a small but permanent income for eighteen years. Long before the expiration of that period he had ceased to need this support; but at first, and even after his marriage, it relieved him of all necessity to do hack work, a fact for which he was ever grateful. He writes:

> I would urge upon everybody who proposes to make a bid for literary success to do so with some backing — a mastership in a school, a civil-service clerkship, a post as secretary to some institution or society; anything, anything rather than dependence on the pen, and the pen alone.

This is not novel advice, but it is impressive. Nor will the "literary aspirant" find in Sir Walter's description of his work as secretary such a deterrent from prosaic but remunerative labor as he may find, for example, in Matthew Arnold's letters. The society did a splendid work in exploring the antiquities of Palestine, and the indefatigable secretary was no small part of the society. His duties brought him in contact with all sorts of people — great scholars like Edward Palmer, professor of Arabic at Cambridge; great soldiers like Captain, now Lord, Kitchener; and cranks like the man who wished to recover the Ark from Ararat. It is almost needless to say that in describing his work as secretary Sir Walter is very interesting, and equally needless to remark that such

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contact with human nature as his position gave him was most serviceable to a novelist. And, fortunately, his labors were so arranged that he had plenty of time for writing.

Thus far little has been said of Sir Walter in the only capacity through which he has been known to the world at large. This is because we have been following closely his own fashion of telling the story of his life. It is only with his tenth chapter, more than half-way through his book, that he begins to give important details of his career as a novelist. And from modesty, or from a determination not to take himself too seriously, he gives all too few details when he does begin. In fact, he devotes less space proportionally to his novels than he does to articles and books that the great public scarcely knows of — to his contributions to "Temple Bar," the "British Quarterly," and the "Saturday Review," and his books on the French Humorists, on Rabelais, on Coligny, and on Jerusalem. These in the main occupied his earlier years of authorship, and, whatever their merits, were not calculated to attract general readers.

But almost from the time of his return to England he began to contribute fiction to "Once a Week," a journal owned and edited by James Rice. His connection with his future collaborator began in a rather odd way. He had sent the paper an article on the Island of Réunion, and had heard nothing from the editor about it. One day, picking up a copy of the periodical, he cast his eye upon his own article — very badly printed. He sent the editor an angry note and received a courteous request for an interview, at which he learned that Rice, newly installed, had found the article in type and published it, supposing that it had been properly acquired. From this explanation a friendship ensued; and, shortly after Besant had published a Christmas fairy story in "Once a Week," Rice proposed collaboration in a novel, the plot of which had been outlined by himself. The result was the successful "Ready Money Mortiboy."

Sir Walter's account of the collaboration which ended only with Rice's death in 1882 is very unsatisfactory. He gives practically no details of importance, and assigns as the reason the fact that his collaborator had been dead so long. One would have thought this a fairly good reason for breaking silence, especially as Sir Walter felt it necessary to advise against collaboration in fiction. It is almost impossible to associate the idea of jealousy with the open, manly character of the surviving partner; yet he attributes artistic jealousy to himself as well as to Rice, and writes in so vague a way that one is almost inclined to attrib-

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ute other defects to Rice. It is true that Sir Walter warns us against this; declares that he does not desire to depreciate the literary ability of his friend; and owns that he was relieved of much worry through the fact that Rice took charge of the necessary business details. But within four pages he protests too often against misconceptions with regard to Rice's work, and regrets too often that that work was joined with his own to leave a comfortable impression upon the mind of any reader not a psychologist or a lawyer. And probably a thoroughly comfortable and fair impression might have been left upon the mind of every reader if Sir Walter could only have brought himself to state a few more facts, even if trivial, about their methods of work, to suppress what he thought fit, and to omit all protests against his reader's misunderstanding him. If there is any misunderstanding he is the cause of it; but it must be remembered, of course, that he did not live to revise his manuscript.

Of the ten or more books produced by the collaborators, the public gave the palm to "The Golden Butterfly"; Besant preferred "The Chaplain of the Fleet." Good arguments can be advanced in favor of the superiority of either book, and the safest conclusion is that both are excellent of their kind. After Rice's death Besant managed with great regularity to produce a novel a year, but it does not seem that he became a writing machine like Trollope. Lovers of the latter will retort that Besant never wrote such good novels as their favorite, despite his mechanical methods, succeeded in doing. Probably he did not; but he did write wholesome fiction, he fell in love with his own heroines, and enjoyed his success to the full. He considered "Dorothy Forster" by far the best of his individual productions, and evidently had a liking for his historical romances. He says little of "All in a Garden Fair," which has a slight autobiographical flavor, and barely mentions the novel with which he so greatly extended his fame — "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." It is true that in a later chapter he treats of the People's Palace inspired by this readable book, and regrets that the Drapers' Company turned the institution into a polytechnic.

It was with difficulty, however, that Sir Walter brought himself to discuss his fiction, even after he had ostensibly begun to do so. He found it much more agreeable to express his contempt for the reviewers who, through their incompetency, had annoyed him and his fellow creative writers. The pages he devotes to "critics and criticasters" are as sprightly as any in his book, and have already attracted considerable notice. There can be little doubt that he has said some very true things in a tone only a trifle too earnest. Much of the reviewing done in

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England and America, especially of fiction, is atrocious; but, as Sir Walter is fair enough to admit, the editors who require their reviewers to pass judgment on a dozen novels a week are more to blame than the hacks who mangle books. The reviewer in the "Athenæum," who declared that the action of a book of Besant's, which did not mention a bank or a banker, took place in a banker's office, may have been suffering from reviewer's nightmare or may have had the editorial blue pencil drawn through all he wrote about Besant's novel, while statements made about another book were printed as though they related to the unfortunate offspring of Sir Walter's brain. A similar experience of the blue pencil once befell me; but, as I was not writing for a periodical, I was fortunate enough to resent the blunder in time. It would be a mistake, however, for any reader to suppose that Besant had the antipathy to critics that it is fashionable for some so-called creative writers and some very uncreative readers to display. He respected honest and intelligent criticism and admitted that there were persons competent to write it; but he maintained that such criticism was rarely accorded contemporary books. In this contention he was surely correct; but it may be doubted whether he and persons who share his opinions have not made the mistake of supposing that book-reviewing and criticism are one and the same thing. Book-reviewing is little more than a literary trade, which ought nevertheless to be honest, intelligent, respectable; criticism is an art, which for obvious reasons rarely concerns itself with works that have not been to a certain extent tested by time.

Reviewers, however, were not the only objects of Sir Walter's ire; extortionate publishers moved him to still greater wrath. His relations with the Society of Authors are too familiar to bear recounting, and some discussion of them may be found in the twelfth chapter of his Autobiography, in the shape of a paper read by him in 1892, when he resigned the chairmanship of the society. There are two sides to the controversy in which he was so long engaged; but no one doubts, or probably has ever doubted, the honesty and philanthropy of Sir Walter's endeavors to improve the business standing of his fellow-craftsmen. Nor is it open to doubt that, through the society's intervention, abuses have been corrected and ignorance has been somewhat dissipated. If a similar society in America could check the expenditure of good money by would-be authors in the manufacture, at their own expense, of totally worthless books, its function would be most beneficent. It should be remarked in this connection that Sir Walter had no indiscriminate feud against publishers. I shall not soon forget the enthusiasm with which he once

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spoke to me of the probity of a famous house of publishers with whom, so far as I know, he had no business relations.

At bottom, the author of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" and the chairman of the Society of Authors was a philanthropist; and perhaps the chapter of his Autobiography devoted to his work in this rôle is as worthy of his fine, manly nature as anything else he ever wrote. He began to be interested in the people of the East End in 1880 and 1881, when he was gathering material for the novel just mentioned. Then in preparation for the "Children of Gibeon" he studied the miserable condition of sewing women and girls, and out of the novel grew an organized coöperative society for working-women. Not much came of this; but Sir Walter continued to take interest in philanthropic clubs of one sort and another, in the Women's Bureau of Work, and especially in the Salvation Army, to the defence of which he devotes some vigorous pages. As usual he minimizes his own labors; but it is easy to see that, what with delivering free lectures, writing letters and articles, and attending committee meetings, he must have taken many hours from the fictitious personages of his novels in order to advance the happiness of real men and women.

The closing chapters of the Autobiography contain an account of the great Survey of London, which was begun in 1894, of the Atlantic Union, a society designed to promote better relations between Englishmen, inhabitants of the British colonies, and Americans, and, finally, a short discussion of the conduct of life and the influence of religion. The last chapter derives impressiveness from its author's sincerity and multifarious experience, and may be read with profit by any one who is not repelled by the expression of liberal religious views. The description of the purposes of the Atlantic Union shows Sir Walter's high regard for America, where his visits had made him many friends, but also proves that he did not realize just before his death how much closer Great Britain and the United States had drawn together within a few years. The chapter describing the Survey of London is unfortunately meagre; and scarcely a word is given to the four popular and interesting books, devoted to the city, which Besant published during the last decade of his life. Few vaster undertakings than this Survey, based upon methodical perambulations and upon an exhaustive study of the history of the metropolis, have ever tasked the capacity of an individual; yet there is every reason to believe that Sir Walter would have made a complete success of the work had he lived. He loved and knew London as few or none of his contemporaries did, and his energy was tireless.

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Fortunately, the whole of the history of the city was finished by him in manuscript, and it is to be hoped that the entire design of the Survey will be carried out according to his plans.

Now having followed cursorily the interesting account of his life furnished us by this admirable and delightful man, it is time to take leave of him with the hope that some one, acting upon the hint of Mr. Sprigge, will give us a good critical estimate of his achievements and rank as a novelist, and that many readers will be brought closer to his inspiring personality through the pages of his Autobiography. In order that I may facilitate to a slight degree the latter desirable result, I shall venture to close this review with a brief description of an afternoon I once spent in Sir Walter's company under circumstances that will, I think, illustrate well the genial and engaging character of the man.

Six and a half years ago I passed a few weeks in London, and presented a letter of introduction to Mr. Walter Besant — as he was then known. He received me with his usual kindness; we lunched later at his favorite club, where I had been put up; and I naturally expected that so busy a man, having done all that could possibly be expected of him, would leave the American teacher to his own resources, which in the main were to be found in musty volumes of old poetry gathered on his desk in the great reading-room of the British Museum. But I had gauged Mr. Besant's kindness by ordinary standards. One foggy, drizzling Saturday afternoon I was sitting alone near a window of the club, looking out upon Piccadilly with all the despair that results from the combination of homesickness, loneliness, and London winter weather. Suddenly I heard my name called, and found cheery Mr. Besant standing by my chair. He asked what I had to do; and upon my replying that my sole object at that moment was to kill time, he at once proposed that we should go out on a perambulation of the city. The proposition would have been pleasant coming from any one. Coming from the man who probably knew his London better than any other contemporary, it was delightful beyond words. In a few moments we were bowling away in a cab to Smithfield. It was not bonfire, although it was martyr's weather; but I was not in precisely the best mood to sympathize with human sufferings, because my companion by his buoyant kindliness had put me in the best of spirits. In the cab he had explained his work for the Society of Authors, and had told me numerous stories about books and writers — among them the amusing anecdote he gives in his Autobiography with regard to the gentleman who had published a volume of verse at his own expense and found at the end of a year that just three

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copies had been sold, including two to his own brothers! From Smithfield we sped away to St. Saviour's, Southwark, perhaps Sir Walter's favorite church — at least one that he made memorable to me as he pointed out its chief features of interest. Then we wandered on foot to the site of the Globe Theatre, of Thrale's brewery, of the Marshalsea, where he had identified a window as one that must have been used by Little Nell. We speculated as to the site of the Tabard Inn, and explored one of the few hostelries of the neighborhood that retained any appearance of real antiquity. Then we made our way back across the Thames, and parted in the dusk

> Where London's column, pointing at the skies
> Like a tall bully, lifts the head, and lies.

That was the last glimpse of this charming and noble man that I was destined to have. It is needless to say that the sunless afternoon remains one of the sunniest spots in my memory — not merely because it gave me a comprehension of the fascination exerted by historic London such as I could have obtained in no other way, but because it illustrated superbly the essential kindliness of the human heart. Yet, perhaps, I should not set to the credit of the race what illustrates rather the sympathy and friendliness of Sir Walter Besant. I fancy that there are few distinguished authors of any nationality who would so put themselves out in order to make a lonely, obscure student feel more at home in a strange metropolis.

W. P. TRENT.

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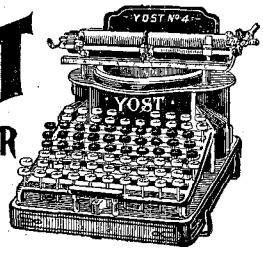

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